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WE ARE FIGHTING FOR A SOVIET GERMANY

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Report by

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We Are Fighting for a Soviet Germany

By WILHELM PIECK

I. Introduction

"Eight months ago under the conditions of extraordinary accentuation of the political and economic situation in Germany, the German bourgeoisie handed over the realization of the open fascist dictatorship to Hitler and his "National-Socialist" party. The eight months of the existence of the blood and starvation government of Hitler-Goering-Goebbels have fully confirmed the fact that the brutal unrestrained fascist dictatorship is not able to solve a single political and economic question of present-day Germany . . . A new upsurge of the revolutionary mass movement in Germany is beginning. . . ."

IN THESE WORDS the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Germany characterized the situation and development in Germany in its resolution of October 10. The development in Germany is every day confirming the description given by us, which is based on the Marxist-Leninist analysis of the relations of class forces. Marxism is the mighty, indestructible weapon of the class struggle of the proletariat. The Hitler gang which rules Germany today has made a bonfire of the great scientific works of the founders of Marxism. But armed with the weapon of Marxism-Leninism, the Communist vanguard of the German proletariat, under the difficulties of an unheard-of fascist terror, is mobilizing the masses for the proletarian revolution, for the true people's revolution, and is creating the prerequisites for the overthrow of fascism and for the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

German fascism is setting its stamp on the whole of capitalist Europe. With so much the greater force will the outbreak of the German revolution unleash the revolutionary storm over the whole of Europe. Therein lies the great historical, international significance of the self-sacrificing courageous struggle of the German Communist Party.

When ten months ago the bourgeoisie handed over the governmental power to fascism, it was confronted with the danger that the counter-revolutionary forces would be overtaken by the forces of revolution. The German proletariat demonstrated its great power in the strike struggles. This confirmed the German bourgeoisie in its decision to make the attempt to safeguard its domination by the subjection of the working class through the most reactionary, open fascist dictatorship of the "National-Socialist" Hitler party.

"Where money is concerned there is no room for sentiment." That was the fighting slogan of the German bourgeoisie in 1848, enunciated by its Liberal Minister, Hansemann. "Under these conditions," said Karl Marx, "the rule of the bourgeoisie had inevitably to turn into terrorism."

But neither the severest terror of the fascists, which has converted Germany into a slaughter house and a prison for the toilers, nor their deceiving demagogy could appease the hunger of the workers, give work to the unemployed or save the millions of the toilers from the stranglehold of the crisis, from the uncertainty and the misery of their life.

The revolutionization of the masses goes forward. The demagogy of the fascists is being shattered by the serious events of daily life. The "national front" of the bourgeoisie and the proletariat, the alleged establishment of the so-called "unity" of classes, which was proclaimed on all the gates of the fascist barracks and jails—where it is now? The

"national revolution" is bankrupt, the Hitler government is leading Germany to catastrophe.

Under the reign of fascism, Germany has become a perpetual source of danger of imperialist war in Europe. The Hitler government recognizes the frontiers of the Versailles robber treaty but arms with all its power for war and desires to use the German people as its slaves for the counter-revolutionary expedition of the world bourgeoisie against the only free country of the toilers, against the Soviet Union.

Weimar democracy is also dead. No worker stirs himself in its defense. During the fifteen years since the November Revolution, the shameful Social-Democratic policy has not only smoothed the path for the fascist dictatorship but has also torn the veil from the parliamentary dictatorship of the bourgeoisie.

> "Thus even the last vestige of consideration was lost to this contemptible assembly; the insurgents who had risen to defend it ceased to care any more for it, and when at last it came to a shameful end . . . it died without anybody taking any notice of its unhonored exit." *

These words of Marx and Engels, which they wrote about the collapse of the National Assembly of 1848, are a pertinent characterization of Weimar democracy.

Social-Democracy is fulfilling its task today as the main social buttress of the bourgeoisie by attempting to erect a dam against the new wave of the revolutionary upsurge while maintaining the split in the working class. The leader of German Social-Democracy, Wels, declared at the Paris Conference of the Second International: "It cannot be the aim of the great struggle for freedom to land from the fascist hell into the Bolshevik prison." This Social-Democracy

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* *Germany, Revolution and Counter-Revolution*, Friedrich Engels, p. 102.

of Wels and Noske, Loeb and Scheidemann, which throttled the proletarian revolution in 1918-19, which caused the founders of the Communist Party of Germany, Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg, to be treacherously murdered, which ten years ago made the Communist Party illegal in order to help the bourgeoisie—this Social-Democracy is still in the service of decaying capitalism against the toiling masses of Germany today.

But the position today is quite different from that of fifteen years ago when the Communist Party of Germany was first founded, when it was not yet a mass organization and was not sufficiently bolshevized. In spite of the most severe conditions of illegality, in spite of the most brutal persecutions, the Communist Party stands in iron united readiness for struggle at the head of millions of toilers who are fighting against fascism.

The revolutionary uprising of the German working class —that is the perspective in Germany. The Communist Party is the sole force under whose leadership the proletarian revolution in Germany will be realized.

Communists will conquer fascism in Germany!

II. A New Revolutionary Upsurge Is Growing

The present situation in Germany is characterized by the growth of a new upsurge of the revolutionary mass movement, under the leadership of the Communist Party.

Ten months ago the German bourgeoisie transferred the governmental power to the Hitler party with the central task of crushing the Communist Party and the revolutionary workers' movement led by the latter, through the establishment of open fascist dictatorship. Today, it has already become clear that Hitler is not succeeding in the execution of this central task. The attempt of monopoly capitalism, of finance capital and Junkerdom, to find a capitalist way out of the crisis by an intensified exploitation and plundering of the toiling masses and by preparations for war with the help of the Hitler dictatorship, encounters the rapidly growing will to resist on the part of the masses, which can very quickly unleash powerful mass struggles against the Hitler dictatorship.

The Hitler government began the execution of the tasks entrusted to it by civil war and an unprecedented terror against the revolutionary workers, especially against the Communist Party, which it thereby thought to destroy. In his opening speech to the Reichstag elected in March, 1933, Hitler, boastful as he is, declared that he would succeed in shattering the Communist Party of Germany into atoms. Goebbels, the Hitler government's chief of lying propaganda, tried to outdo his leader with the declaration:

> "In fifty years' time no man in the world will know any more that Marxism ever existed. The world idea of fascism will march and the C.P. of Germany will be finished for ever."

The facts in Germany speak another language. The Hitler government can throw hundreds of thousands of revolutionary workers into the concentration camps and subject thousands to bestial tortures, torture them to death and murder them; they can force the Communist Party of Germany into illegality, but they have not been able to destroy the revolutionary movement, they have not been able to destroy the Communist Party. The C. P. of Germany lives. Its influence on the toiling masses is growing rapidly. It is organizing mass struggles against Hitler's dictatorship. A new revolutionary upsurge is growing. The economic crisis continues. The prerequisites for the revolutionary crisis are increasing. Germany is marching towards the proletarian revolution.

1. *The Growing Resistance of the Working Class*

In order to grasp the elements of the growth of the revolutionary forces, in order to understand that the present militant actions of the working class, and above all the strikes, are proceeding on a quite different, essentially higher level of maturity of the class movement, of its revolutionization and organization, we must describe the process of the gradual growth of the revolutionary class forces for the overcoming of the fascist dictatorship.

With the taking over of power by Hitler and the prevention of the general strike on January 31 by Social-Democracy, the militant revolutionary movement was in no way broken. After it, as before, the bourgeoisie was faced with the danger of the counter-revolutionary forces being overtaken by the forces of the proletarian revolution. The fascist methods of terror and deception hitherto applied proved insufficient. A terror intensified to the highest point and the organization of a pogrom mood against the revolutionary

vanguard was required in order to make the attempt at a decisive blow. This is the real cause which drove Hitler, Goering and Goebbels to take up the torch for the burning of the Reichstag. Thousands of workers, Party members and functionaries were arrested, beaten almost to death. Hundreds were murdered, thousands of workers had to forsake their homes and families and go into illegality. A strong depression—a depression which was moreover especially fostered by the Social-Democracy—spread in the camp of the working class. If the German proletariat in this situation had not had the Communist Party, which did not let itself be led astray for a moment and maintained undaunted its militant position against fascism, then fascism would have triumphed, there would have been no rapid overcoming of the mood of depression, no new mustering of forces, no new march forward, no approach to the revolutionary upsurge. The collapse of the German workers' movement into the swamp of despair would have followed. The Party immediately launched a sharp struggle against the Social-Democratic swamp ideology, against the view that the proletariat had suffered a decisive defeat at the hands of fascism. It fought against the "wait and see" tendencies evoked by Social-Democracy to the effect that Hitler should be allowed to play himself out, and it put the question of the organization of the struggle openly before the masses. It fought against the going over of the workers into the fascist factory organization and sharply opposed all tendencies directed towards a dissolution of the revolutionary mass organizations. Above all, it was the task of the Party to inspire the class-conscious workers to unfold the greatest possible self-initiative from below.

In this period the revolutionary vanguard and the Communist Party of the German working class stood their ordeal

by fire. In the Reichstag elections of March 5, in spite of its lists being declared invalid—a fact from which the Social-Democrats attempted to draw an advantage—in spite of the Reichstag fire pogrom and the terror, the Party obtained 5,000,000 votes. In the factory committee elections in March we obtained 39 per cent of the total vote in a number of big factories. In a large number of factories we were able to organize strikes against the measures of repression taken against the Red factory committees. In the middle of March the central organ of the Party, the *Rote Fahne*, appeared illegally for the first time. Although connections between district committees and lower Party units were in many cases broken by the terror, nevertheless agitational material, slogans and calls to struggle as well as appeals for unity were issued throughout the whole country by the Communist workers and functionaries upon their own initiative and distributed with the support of Social-Democratic and non-Party workers.

During these days and weeks the Party—not only in itself but also in the consciousness of strata of the working class which still held aloof from it—grew into iron cohorts of the revolution. Herein was shown the success of the clearly directed leadership of the Party by Comrade Thaelmann in the rooting of the Party in the masses, thanks to which even the most furious fascist terror was not able to isolate the Party from the masses. This was also the result of the great assistance provided by the Communist International in the bolshevization of our Party. Herein was shown the significance of the Leninist principle of organization and of the 21 conditions of the Communist International which prevented the penetration of opportunism and the predominance of opportunist, petty-bourgeois, labor-aristocratic elements, and which united the best elements of the working class in

the Communist Party. And not least, this was the result of the effect of the great successes of socialist construction in the Soviet Union, of the magnificent achievements of the shock brigades, which show the workers the power of the proletarian class so that through this they can re-establish themselves and overcome all resistance. The revolutionary firmness of the vanguard and of the revolutionary party of the German working class was the decisive cause for the comparatively rapid overcoming of the depression and for the maturing of a new revolutionary upsurge under the leadership of the Communist Party.

2. *New Methods of the Class Struggle*

The fact that the Hitler government did not succeed even by means of the most intense terror in crushing the revolutionary movement, and the anti-capitalist feelings fostered in the masses by social-demagogic phraseology, forced the Hitler government to carry further the social deception of the masses used in the first stage. This was done by proclaiming the two four-year plans for the alleged liquidation of unemployment and for the saving of the German peasantry, by the anti-Semitic Boycott Day, by the appointment of factory commissars and by the temporary toleration of so-called "encroachments from below." It was declared to the workers in speeches that the factories of the capitalists were also the factories of the workers, that the workbenches were also their workbenches. By this means the Hitler dictatorship sought to gain time for the consolidation of its state apparatus.

The Party formulated its tactics and methods of struggle with a view to exposing this social deception of the Hitler government in the eyes of the masses by linking up with these anti-capitalist moods among the masses. In so doing,

we utilized the legal possibilities within the fascist organizations, the National-Socialist factory nuclei, the meetings of the "German Labor Front" organized by the Nazis, the compulsorily appointed factory representations and commissars, so that under pressure from the workers they had to put forward demands for increased wages and rates of pay, for the release of the arrested factory committees. After May 1, factory movements were begun by our comrades in many factories for the originally promised payment of the forfeited labor day by the employers and for the dismissal of obnoxious foremen and directors. Under this mass pressure, the National-Socialist Factory Organization (N.S.B.O.) was even compelled in some cases to undertake the temporary arrest of some factory managers. In the meetings of the "incorporated" trade unions, demands were put forward for the re-election of factory representatives, for a reduction of membership dues, for wage increases and for freedom of discussion. In many cases this caused trade union meetings under the leadership of commissars to be dissolved, so that the commissars did not any longer permit any kind of discussion speeches. We also succeeded in many cases in carrying through the election of wage and negotiation commissions and in causing the N.S.B.O. functionaries elected to these commissions to come into conflict with the superior leadership of their organizations. It even happened that through our initiative functionaries of the N.S.B.O. in various towns were obliged to demand the realization of the promises for "socializing" whole branches of industry—a demand which was naturally rejected by the Nazi leaders. By the use of these measures we also succeeded in reviving a strike movement, so that sixty strikes were conducted in April and fifty-eight in May. The highest point was reached in the strike of the Berlin newspaper presses, which

even caused the stopping of work in the printshop of the Nazi *Angriff*. The workers demanded the reduction of the directors' salaries, the withdrawal of the 10 per cent wage-cut made in the previous year, the dismissal of the upper employees who consisted of members of the Nazi party. The fascist leadership attempted to turn the strike into false channels by incitement against the small Jewish employees. Basing ourselves on this method of mobilizing the workers for struggle in the factories by insisting on the promises made by the Nazis and utilizing the legal possibilities in the fascist organizations, we attempted to make our main method the independent organization of struggle with independent class demands. In employing the first method, there was the danger that our Party and the units of the Red Trade Union Opposition would succumb to practical opportunism, that the face of the Party would be hidden, that the struggles would not serve for the fundamental discrediting of fascism and the strengthening of the revolutionary united front as the sole force against social reaction. This method permitted the N.S.B.O. to execute certain treacherous maneuvers. I will only give one crass example of this.

In a certain big factory the workers, after being urged to do so by our comrades, demanded a 20 per cent wage increase. A comrade was also proposed for the negotiation commission, but he refused. Consequently the commission consisted only of functionaries of the N.S.B.O., who succeeded in obtaining a 10 per cent wage increase from the administration. At the meeting a Nazi storm-trooper demanded the carrying through of the 20 per cent wage increase, while our comrade, who had taken a great part in the organization of the movement, was silent. On further negotiation with the administration, a wage increase of 15 per cent was achieved. The consequence of our comrade's fail-

ure was that almost the whole of the workers entered the N.S.B.O.

In the first period of the Hitler dictatorship, a number of groups of the Red Trade Union Opposition went over to the N.S.B.O. with the intention of carrying on revolutionary work in it. But their action in joining the N.S.B.O. led rather to the discrediting of our movement, especially when it was a matter of leading functionaries in the factory. In one of the larger industrial towns, a revolutionary sport organization allowed itself to be "incorporated" by the fascists on the ground that it could thereby remain in possession of its property. They were first-rate sportsmen who obtained the first prize at a fascist sports meeting and they were glad to carry on the political life of their body under the mask of "incorporation" and to be able to conduct the work of revolutionary enlightenment in the framework of the whole organization. We made these comrades understand that such a method is impossible, but that we must of course conduct persistent undermining work in the fascist mass organizations by sending trustworthy comrades into them.

This revival of the strike movement and of other partial struggles in the factories was the result of the bold work of enlightenment and struggle performed by our comrades in the lower organizations of the Party, who published very clever agitational material for this purpose (factory papers, small leaflets, handbills, titles, slogans, etc.). Still, this agitation was mainly based on the exposure of the glaring contradiction between the promises of the fascists and their practical policy. There was no explanation as to the connection between the partial attacks of the fascists against the workers and their whole catastrophic policy; there were no working instructions for the organization of struggles, the

awakening of the will to power, the clear perspective of the inevitability of our victory, the propagation of our final aims. But, in spite of these defects, the numerous partial movements have still contributed very essentially to the accelerated maturing of a new wave of the revolutionary upsurge.

3. *Revolutionary Organization of Struggle Shatters the Treacherous Fascist Maneuvers*

The rising movement of struggle compelled the Hitler government to limit its social demagogic maneuvers of deceit towards the masses. Hitler declared the "national revolution" to be at an end, the small factory commissars were relieved of their posts and independent encroachments by the workers upon the power of the employers were answered with dismissal and the concentration camp. The commanding power of the employers was buttressed by the appointment of "trustees" for the regulation of labor disputes, who put through the wishes of the employers by police force. In the beginning of July the Minister for Industry, Schmitt, proclaimed the principle that capitalist industry must be made to pay, and that therefore only the employers' profit could be the determining factor. This was followed by the solemn declaration of the inviolability of big ownership and of the capital of the big department stores. The fighting professional associations of the handicraftsmen and small traders were dissolved. The treacherous social demagogy begins to lose its efficacy as soon as we succeed in setting the masses into motion. Heightened terror was instituted against the working class for the suppression of its militant movement. Six courageous, bold revolutionary fighters, among them the unforgettable August Luetgens of Altona, who proclaimed his faith in the revolution even on the scaffold, have been executed by the Hitler government.

4. *Onward to Independent Organization of Struggle!*

For the Party the main task was and remains the raising of the anti-fascist united front action to a higher stage by the transition from agitation to the widest development of mass action, in which our class demands and the face of the Communist Party of Germany and the Red Trade Union Opposition are the central feature and through which the economic struggles are raised to the level of political strikes.

The Central Committee of our Party has laid down the basic line of our tactics in the present phase in the manifesto for "Socialist Action for Freedom" and in the *Open Letter to Social-Democratic Workers.* To all Communist, Social-Democratic and Christian workers, to all anti-fascists, the demand was made: "Workers of Germany, unite for the overthrow of the fascist dictatorship of capital!" As intermediate steps for drawing the masses into greater struggles, five tasks of the day were laid down: Struggle against social reaction, against the terror, against the chauvinist war campaign, against the war armaments, against the preparation of counter-revolutionary war against the Soviet Union. Linking up with the ban on the slogan of the "second revolution" propagated by fascist supporters, our manifesto says:

> "The uniting of the working class for struggle against the fascist dictatorship means the march of the second revolution, the proletarian revolution, the Bolshevik revolution, and it alone will bring work, bread and freedom."

5. *The Significance of the Strikes*

In view of our decisive task of leading on the proletariat in the process of political and economic partial struggles to decisive class battles, to the general strike and armed uprising, the economic and political strike, the mass strike, is the

decisive form of struggle in the present period. The Berlin transport workers' strike has demonstrated how in the course of this struggle the working class comes forward under revolutionary leadership as the hegemon of the toiling masses, how the competition produced by the bourgeoisie among the workers vanishes and is replaced by solidarity, selflessness and heroism, how the example of a single mass strike acts as a spark in the factories of the whole country, how the pressure of state power and of the fascist terror begins to lose its power to terrify, how the whole political superstructure of the bourgeoisie begins to totter.

Every strike conducted in a revolutionary manner in the industrial districts, in Berlin, in the Ruhr district, on the *Wasserkante*,* must therefore transform the dissatisfaction, embitterment and hatred, which have been accumulating in the factories as a result of terror and wage robbery, into a great increase of the force of the revolutionary mass will. I will recall here the words of Lenin, who, at the beginning of 1913, in view of the new revolutionary upsurge after the period of depression, wrote on the significance of the strike as a means for a general class mobilization:

> "This means is the revolutionary strike, the stubborn strike which reaches out from one district to another, from one end of the country to the other, which repeats itself—the strike which awakens the backward to new life by the struggle for economic improvements."

6. *The Elements of the Revolutionary Upsurge*

Under the terrorist pressure of the strike ban and the concentration camp it is much more difficult at the present time in Germany to unleash and to lead an independent strike under revolutionary leadership with unequivocal revolutionary class slogans. While during the first period of

* The district of Hamburg.—*Ed.*

the fascist dictatorship a part of the workers' movements was confined within the limits of the social-deceptive slogans and maneuvers of the National-Socialist organizations, we are today in a period where every independent militant movement of the working class encounters the furious resistance of the state power and of all reactionary forces. That, however, also heightens the extraordinary significance of such a militant movement in regard to the revolutionizing of the masses and the shattering of the fascist dictatorship.

There are still few big strikes in Germany, but there is an abundance of partial struggles with very often a very strong political tendency directed against the Nazis and against the Hitler government. I will quote only a few examples from recent months.

In various mines in the *Ruhr district*, the administration and the Nazi leadership attempted a wage-cut. Our factory nuclei mobilized the workers by means of leaflets, and when the announcement of the wage cuts appeared on the blackboard, the whole personnel came out on strike. In some other pits the mere threat of a strike by the workers sufficed to prevent the wage reduction which had been announced. In Elberfeld, the representatives of the employers wished to force the workers to take part in a Nazi meeting, but two-thirds of them refused to do so. In the Bussing Automobile Works in Hanover, the workers decided not to pay any more contributions. There have been many reports of workers in different factories refusing to buy N.S.B.O. uniforms and swastika flags. In Solingen the grinders in one factory downed tools three times in one day on account of the delivery of bad material. In a metal factory on the Lower Rhine, the workers on the initiative of the Red Trade Union Opposition demanded a 20 per cent wage increase. The employers were only willing to grant 10 per cent, but by passive

resistance the workers forced a wage increase of 15 per cent. When in the beginning of November the workers in the pits of the fascist councilor of state, Thyssen, began a strike against intensified slave-driving methods, Thyssen caused one hundred workers to be arrested. Nevertheless the strike was continued. The workers of a steel works in the Ruhr district at once began a strike on the announcement of a 10 per cent wage robbery, which was thereby prevented.

Great significance was acquired by a strike in a steel works on the Lower Rhine because it is actually the first example of how higher forms of the class organization of the workers take their rise with the growing militant movement. The personnel, consisting of seven hundred men, was threatened with a 10 per cent wage reduction. The Red Trade Union Opposition group at once issued the slogan: "Elect a delegation to the management," and this slogan met with the approval of all the employees including members of the N.S.B.O. When the management refused to receive the delegation, our Red Trade Union Opposition group called for a strike, which was unanimously carried through.

The fascist regional leadership demanded the immediate resumption of work because otherwise negotiations with the employers could not be conducted. But the fascist maneuver to break the strike failed and the management had finally to give way and withdraw the wage-cut. Our comrades immediately utilized the strike experiences for a leaflet and began the creation of a trade union organizational unit, an independent class trade union. The N.S.B.O. group has gone to pieces, and was dissolved by the fascists as unreliable.

The sharpening of the situation in the factories is also to be traced in the measures to which the fascists have to take recourse against the revolting workers in the factories.

Hardly a day passes without raids being made on factories by fascist police detachments and a hunt started for Communist leaflets and their distributors. In a steel works in middle Germany, the management after a leaflet distribution had taken place and slogans had been written up, threatened that the shift concerned would have to remain in the works until the slogans and the leaflets had been removed. The workers met this threat with passive resistance and finally by leaving the works. If only a few months ago such terrorist police actions produced a certain depression among large sections of the working force, today in most cases they are already resulting in an extension and deepening of the will to resistance. Such raids and searches of factories are usually followed by the distribution of new leaflets. It is also characteristic that cases where N.S.B.O. workers play the informer are becoming increasingly rare. In many cases strikes have been carried on by the workers until their arrested colleagues were actually reinstated. The president of the "German Labor Front," the fascist Ley, issued instructions in the name of the Hitler government to the police authorities to put an end to acts of terror and arrests in the factories because such measures lead only to further unrest among the workers.

The growth of the revolutionary militant mood in the factories is also seen in the fact that the Nazis find themselves compelled to undertake new deceptive maneuvers against the workers. Thus, the above-mentioned Ley has already held out hopes to the factory workers of a 10 per cent wage increase in spring and three weeks' holiday—probably unpaid. Hitler had to speak himself in the Siemen's works in Berlin to calm the workers. The great scheme of 150,000 factory meetings announced by Goebbels only two months ago has been tacitly dropped by the fascists. They

are afraid that the accumulated hatred against the fascists and the employers whom they support would spontaneously find vent in these factory meetings. They now want to gain time in order to calm the workers by new deceptive maneuvers. They tremble at the thought that a strike movement will be launched by the Communists from Berlin, from the *Wasserkante,* and from the Ruhr district, which would direct its main drive against the fascist regime.

As in the factories, so also in the trade unions "incorporated" by the fascists and in the "German Labor Front," the militant mood of the workers is growing. Trade union meetings are more and more becoming centers of revolutionary agitation. A number of trade union meetings have been broken up by our opposition so that the commissars have had to go away without carrying through their commission. After discussion speeches in the meetings were forbidden by the Nazis, the opposition adopted the form of putting questions in which the demands of the workers were expressed. We have such cases as that where a fascist commissar called for a vote as to who in the meeting was still a Marxist and 80 to 90 per cent raised their hands. The consequence of this development of open resistance is that the fascist bureaucracy hardly summons any trade union meetings.

In the labor service camps there are more and more cases of refusal to obey orders and strikes of the working youth up to the point of breaking up the camps. In recent months alone, 280 strikes were carried out in labor service camps. Besides this the camps are the scene of a vast number of minor actions of resistance. The youth has likewise entered the fight in a militant fashion in a series of big enterprises where the apprentices are revolting against military exercises and are de-

manding payment for the free time robbed from them. If the youth sections previously belonging to the N.S.B.O. are now being transferred to the organization of the Hitler youth, this is done in order to counter the growing protest movement in the labor service camps and the apprentice sections of the factories.

The symptoms of the revolutionary upsurge are particularly evident in the working class quarters of the big and medium-sized cities. This revolutionary hatred is growing without cessation. And if it does not yet find general expression in the form of large-scale class actions, it nevertheless enhances the conscious fighting determination of the workers and assists in creating the preconditions for these actions. The reactionary French journalist, Sauerwein, who is playing up to the Nazis, wrote as follows in the Paris newspaper, *Paris Soir*, on the impressions of his visit to working class quarters of Berlin:

> "When you enter the residential regions of Berlin situated in the east or north of the city, the borders of what is called the Red City, where the small black cap replaces the brown headgear of the storm strooper, the atmosphere begins to grow ominous. Everywhere you see small groups clustered together . . . Sometimes the tone becomes still more mysterious, the faces still more reserved . . . There are streets in Berlin from which, if hate could kill, no Nazi would emerge alive."

While on May 1, on the occasion of the fascist "May Day celebration," under the pressure of the terror in the working class regions of the city almost every house was decorated with Swastika flags, on August 1, on the occasion of the big Nazi parade, whole streets were devoid of decorations in spite of the fact that the Nazis made great use of terrorist methods. In Berlin, on August 1, the revolutionary workers carried out demonstrations in eighteen places. A

whole series of lesser indications of the reaction in feeling against the Nazis and the growing militant mood could be mentioned which find expression in the life of the streets. This holds good also for the petty bourgeoisie. While in the first month of the Hitler dictatorship, a certain enthusiasm, begotten by hopeful expectation, existed in large sections of the population, this period was followed by an interval of timorous silence caused by the terror. Today, however, people are beginning to speak again, to discuss and even to make jokes about the Hitler government. A working class woman enquires in a shop whether prices have already gone up again. The shopkeeper answers: "You must ask Hitler that." At the unemployment bureaus jokes are made about the alleged liquidation of unemployment, about the triumphal parades of the Hitler government. Working class children are singing a rhyme in the streets: "Come, Herr Hitler, be our guest, and give us the half of what you promised us."

The Hitler greeting with raised hand and the obeisances before the Hitler flag which were at first made compulsory by the fascists, are being met with embitterment and refusal in the working class quarters. Everywhere dissatisfaction and indignation against the fascist regime is growing, among the workers, among the petty bourgeoisie and in the villages. The fascist mass basis is beginning to shrink more and more and the deceptive social-demagogy begins to lose its force of attraction. On the other hand, the force of attraction of the Communists is growing. Even the petty bourgeois accepts Communist agitational material, even if still somewhat timidly. Cases of people informing against Communists in the working class dwellings, in the cafes and in the factories have very considerably diminished. People are ready to shelter Communists from the fascist persecution

and to give them illegal quarters. Our comrades even succeed in speaking to the small peasants in the villages without being betrayed by them to the Nazis.

The growth of the revolutionary upsurge is revealed in the storm detachments of Hitler's brown army. Dissillusionment at the policy of the Hitler's government, at the breaking off of the so-called national revolution, at the power of the domination of monopoly capital grows from day to day. There is a revolt against the new officialdom of the Nazi party functionaries, who are swaggering about everywhere and waxing fat. The number of arrests among the storm troopers on account of mutiny and unreliability is already so great that a special concentration camp has had to be organized on this account. The replacement of storm troop detachments for guarding prisoners takes place at ever shorter intervals on account of unreliability. Among the storm troops and N.S.B.O. members a saying is current: "Hitler, give us work and bread, or we shall go red."

Antagonism is growing in the Hitler army between the storm detachments and the *Schutzstaffel* (S.S.),* Hitler's crack troops. Likewise between the armed formations and the factory workers in the N.S.B.O. antagonism is increasing to the point of direct collisions. These are naturally only symptoms of the growth of the new revolutionary upsurge, which carries its waves also into the camps and among the hangers-on of Hitler and which gives the Communist Party ever greater possibilities for increasing its mass revolutionary work.

One decisive factor that must be taken into account for a judgment of the situation is that the process of the growth of the revolutionary forces is taking place on the basis of

* Defense detachments.

the systematic work of the Communist Party, on the basis of its change from agitation to the organization of mass actions, of its successful struggle against all "wait and see" tendencies, on the basis of the working out of independent revolutionary slogans and new forms of the revolutionary united front.

The elements of the revolutionary upsurge that is beginning afresh show themselves above all in the activization and spreading of the organized cadres of the revolutionary vanguard. Those Party members and sympathizers who during the first weeks and months of the Hitler dictatorship somewhat retreated into the background under the pressure of the terror, are now again putting themselves at the disposal of the Party for work. The publication of agitational material through the initiative of the Party nuclei is increasing both in quantity and quality. Oral agitation also is coming more strongly into the forefront. The strong orientation on the factories is to be seen in the creation of new factory nuclei; Party nuclei are taking over the patronage for establishment of connections with labor service camps and the countryside. Workers who had lost connection with the Party are boldly declaring themselves for the Party and enlarging the circle of active sympathizing Party helpers. The fascist terror is beginning to lose its terror for the workers. The workers are courageously staking their lives for the Communist Party, for the struggle of the workers against the fascist regime. The lower cadres in the Party are now growing and becoming better qualified for the proletarian revolution.

The Hitler government, through the measures it adopts, itself confirms the irresistible growth of the forces of Communism. It continually issues in the press "warnings to spreaders of rumors and unfavorable criticism," and terroristic threats against "Communist provocators." Hitler,

Goebbels and Goering vie with one another in their speeches of hatred and incitement against Communism, which only a few months ago they maintained that they had uprooted lock, stock and barrel. The secret police issues a request to the press not to publish any more notices about arrests, raids or the successes of Communist agitation, because such notices increase the "unrest among the population." The trial over the burning of the Reichstag, which was intended to serve for organizing a new pogrom mood against the Communists, had produced the very opposite effect. It has become a tribune of revolutionary speech and of the sharpest indictment against this government of incendiaries and adventurers. The name of Dimitroff has become a slogan for millions of workers and even awakes admiration, doubt and hesitation among the adherents of the fascist party. Even in fetters and on the steps of the scaffold, the Communists make the fascist despots tremble. An illuminating example of this heroic courage against the fascist tyrants and of indissoluble unity with the proletarian revolution was furnished by August Luetgens, one of the four Altona workers executed by the Hitler government, who at the very moment before his execution shouted in the face of his fascist murderers: "Long live the proletarian revolution! Red front!"

The so-called "referendum" of November 12 is also a proof that the Hitler dictatorship is compelled by the growth of the revolutionary forces to make use in an intensified measure of the methods of chauvinistic agitation in the attempt to maintain its mass basis. Even on the basis of the wholly falsified election results, the Hitler government had to admit that 3,350,000 votes had been given against it and that 2,500,000 had not taken part in the election. It had also to admit that in the working class quarters of Berlin and Hamburg 16 per cent of the votes recorded were against the

Hitler government. The results published by Hitler are undoubtedly only a fraction of the votes which were actually cast against the Hitler government and of the masses of voters who abstained from voting as a protest. Results are available from constituencies where 40-50 per cent of the electors voted against Hitler.

Only the Communist Party of Germany alone has conducted a serious struggle against the Hitler party in spite of all the terror of the fascists, and has encouraged the masses to come out against the Hitler government with an unshakable *No*. This *No* was a revolutionary act in view of the publicity of the voting and of the threats of the fascists to strike down anyone who voted against the Hitler government. The "voting" in many cases took place in the following fashion: the brown murder bands of the Hitler party formed a double line before each polling station and handed to each voter in an envelope a voting card already filled out for the Hitler government. Whoever did not hand in this envelope with the voting slip but demanded a clean voting slip, was thereby immediately recognized as an enemy of the Hitler government. Alternatively, the votes were publicly taken in the polling center and anyone who used the private polling compartments, which had been put up for form's sake, was considered an enemy of the Hitler government. The voting took place in the same way in the concentration camps, and it is an unprecedented act of infamy for the Hitler government to declare that all the prisoners in the concentration camps voted for the Hitler government.

The millions of votes recorded against Hitler are a proof of the revolutionary upsurge which is setting in. It is becoming ever more difficult for the fascists to divert the attention of the toiling masses from their economic bankruptcy and the isolation of Germany in foreign affairs.

All the above-mentioned facts showing the resistance and struggle of the workers against the Hitler dictatorship demonstrate that, in spite of the most severe bloody terror, a new revolutionary upsurge is growing and that a new growth of the strike wave and of the revolutionary actions of the unemployed, the turning away of the masses of the petty bourgeoisie and peasants from the Hitler party is unavoidable. The growth of the revolutionary forces is a result of the successful work of the Communist Party, which is becoming the sole mass party of the German proletariat.

The ten months of fascist dictatorship in Germany confirm the prediction of the Communist International that the establishment of the fascist dictatorship does not introduce a period of reaction, that the establishment of the Hitler dictatorship may indeed temporarily hinder but cannot put a stop to the development of the revolutionary forces.

The ten months of fascist dictatorship show that Germany has more and more become the nodal point of the international proletarian revolution now maturing, even if unequally maturing.

The path of the fascist dictatorship is the path of the enslavement and plundering of the toiling masses. It pushes all the internal and external contradictions of German capitalism to the extreme point and is leading Germany into catastrophe.

The path of the proletarian revolution is the sole way out from the crisis of capitalism, the salvation from catastrophe, the path to socialism. The present situation in Germany shows that the proletariat under the leadership of its only revolutionary party is taking this path.

III. The Policy and Prospects of the Fascist Dictatorship

1. *The Fascist Dictatorship as the Form of the Rule of Monopoly Capital in the Period of Parasitic Decaying Capitalism*

What is the fascist dictatorship in Germany, what is its policy and what prospects has it? If in my report I have put into the forefront the revolutionary upsurge of the working class which is already taking place and only then go on to deal with the position of the bourgeoisie and its methods of finding a way out of the crisis, this is for the reason that the class struggle is the decisive factor for the proletariat. It depends on the workers, on the toilers, on their organization, on their revolutionary power of action, whether it is to be possible for a parasitic upper stratum of six hundred millionaires to drive the toiling population of 60,000,000 into a new imperialist war.

When in Russia in the middle of 1917 the capitalists and Junkers drove the soldiers to their death, achieved records in the exploitation of the workers and peasants and forced the country into catastrophe, Lenin wrote as follows under the title, *The Threatening Catastrophe and How to Struggle Against It*:

> "Hunger and a catastrophe of unexampled dimensions are facing us . . .
>
> . . . And yet only a little attention and reflection suffice in order to convince oneself that means for fighting the catastrophe and the hunger are at hand, that these fighting measures are completely clear, simple, entirely realizable, thoroughly adapted to the

powers of the people, and that these measures are *not* taken, *only* because, *exclusively* because the realization would affect the enormous profits of a small handful of capitalists and big landlords."

These words of Lenin, written during the Russian revolution in another situation, apply also today to the Germany of Thyssen, Krupp and Hitler. The position of the working class grows worse from day to day. The reek of imperialist war adventures pervades the country. Catastrophe is threatening. And it is only because a handful of greedy parasitic capitalists and Junkers are trying to maintain their class privileges by deception and violence against the enormous majority of the population. When Hitler took over power, Comrade Knorin correctly wrote:

"When the extremely deep crisis shook the foundations of the Weimar Republic, when a deep crack was formed in the bourgeoisie itself, then the darkest forces of today, the slinking remains of unburied feudalist society, the medieval reactionaries, Hohenzollerns and Wittelsbachs, retired Wilhelm officers, who had not died of starvation thanks to their pensions paid handsomely by the Weimar Republic, crept out of their holes and united round the National-Socialist Party, to fling themselves into a deadly struggle with the proletariat who were demanding bread, work and power, and who were threatening capitalism, incapable of feeding its slaves, with proletarian revolution."

The class content of the fascist dictatorship in Germany is demonstrated by the composition of the *General Economic Council.* Of the sixteen persons in this real government of Germany nine are big industrialists (almost exclusively representatives of monopoly capital), four are banking princes and two are big agrarians. Among the members are the banker and State Commissar, *Reinhardt,* member of thirty-nine company boards, the big industrialist *Voegler,* member of twenty company boards, the banker *Fink,* member of eighteen boards and the armament king and millionaire of

the Krupp armament industry, *Thyssen,* member of thirty company boards. The Ministry for Industry is in the hands of the representative of the big banks and of the big insurance trusts, *Schmitt.* The leadership of all the united "incorporated" capitalist federations is in the hands of *Krupp. Thyssen* was appointed by Hitler as the "authoritative arbitrator" in all wage disputes in west Germany.

The whole capitalist economic apparatus serves for the salvation of a small upper stratum of capitalists. By the new decree on cartels, industry which has hitherto not been included in cartels has been combined together in order to bring it into a still greater dependence on monopoly capital and the big banks. The process of decay of German capitalism is characterized by the standstill, indeed even regress, of production and the destruction of productive forces. The state treasuries are being plundered by monopoly capital in the most impudent fashion. Hundreds of millions of marks are being squandered for maintaining a bankrupt industry and bankrupt concerns. Millions of toilers are starving, but millions of marks from the state treasury are being applied for the transformation and rehabilitation of the giant trusts. Hundreds of millions of marks of money squeezed out by taxation were thrown at one stroke into the maw of the shareholders and millionaires of the Steel Federation and of the Gelsenkirchen Mining Company after the Hermann Mueller and Bruening government had fed the openly bankrupt capitalists with subsidies amounting to millions, and Social-Democracy had attempted to justify the "socialization" of the losses at the cost of the state to the workers as state capitalism. In the countryside an upper stratum of Junkers and big peasants with state privileges is being fostered who are exploiting the poor and middle peasants, depriving them of their rights even more than previously.

The application of the entire economic and state apparatus of the bourgeoisie for the salvation of the monopoly capitalists and the big banking princes intensifies the competitive struggle within the bourgeoisie, in which the separate capitalists are also struggling for their salvation. The antagonism between industrial capital and the banks is intensifying, as also between the producers of raw materials and the manufacturing industry, and between industrial and agrarian capital. The struggle is going on over the question of prices and of sales. Monopoly capital wants to make itself the sole ruler of the entire state apparatus and of the entire economic apparatus. The fascist-Hitler party, as the party of monopoly capital, seeks, by the "incorporation" of all bourgeois parties, of all the bourgeois federal governments and of all bourgeois organizations, to obtain political monopoly for itself, and with the help of the so-called "sole rule" to overcome the antagonisms in the camp of the bourgeoisie. However, the further rapid deepening of the economic crisis and of all the internal and external contradictions of capitalism is leading to a rapid intensification of the antagonisms.

While the policy of the working class must be directed towards utilizing these antagonisms in order to smash the whole front of counter-revolution, the tactics of Social-Democracy are adapted for utilizing these antagonisms in order to buttress their policy of collaboration with sections of the bourgeoisie for the deception of the masses of the workers.

The efforts of the fascist dictatorship to conceal their class character by the ideology of the "national community," the replacement of classes by the "equal representation of professions," is being supported by all the parties of the Second International. Austrian "Left" Social-Democracy, with *Otto Bauer* at the head, created the theory of the fascist dictator-

ship as the "dictatorship of the petty bourgoisie." *Trotsky* characterized the fascist dictatorship as the "petty-bourgeois counter-revolution."

This theory is very dangerous to the working class and signifies:

1. A support of fascist demagogy, which attempts to veil the dictatorship of Thyssen and Krupp as the "rule of the whole people" with the "leader" appointed by providence;

2. A justification after the event of the policy of class collaboration of Social-Democracy with the bourgeoisie. for if the fascist dictatorship exists as an independent force as against the bourgeoisie, then—so say Wels and Co.—it was correct in principle to enter into a coalition with Bruening and parts of the bourgeoisie against fascism;

3. The attempt to hold back the Social-Democratic workers from any struggle against the whole bourgeoisie and against any bourgeois form of rule.

Commenting on an old article of the *Manchester Guardian,* which was recently distributed in Berlin in a new edition and in which the replacement of the Hitler dictatorship by a military dictatorship was characterized as probable, Social-Democracy wrote that such a military dictatorship, possibly under Schleicher, would give the working class a greater freedom of action and would be a stage of approach nearer to socialism.

The Neumann-Remmele group in the C.P. of Germany has converted the Social-Democratic theory of the "dictatorship of the petty bourgeoisie" into a "dictatorship of the *Lumpenproletariat*" and completed it by the theory of the "change of system," of the replacement of the rule of the bourgeoisie by the rule of bourgeois society sinking down into the *Lumpenproletariat.* This theory denies the fact that in the fascist dictatorship the content of the class rule of

the bourgeoisie has remained the same as in the "Weimar democracy," and consequently leads to putting the form of rule of bourgeois democracy in opposition to the fascist dictatorship. It signifies a justification of the class collaboration policy of Social-Democracy and denies the fact that the fascist dictatorship grows out of bourgeois democracy.

2. *The Peculiarities of Fascist Dictatorship in Germany in Its Establishment and Execution*

The developments in Germany confirm the statement of the Twelfth Plenum of the E.C.C.I. which declares that it is not possible to speak of a classic form of fascist dictatorship and that it is necessary to oppose every superficial comparison and mechanical identification of the fascist dictatorship in Germany with that in Italy. The form and duration of the fascist dictatorship are dependent on the objective and subjective factors of the entire development. A knowledge of its most decisive peculiarities is particularly necessary for an estimation of the prospects of the fascist dictatorship in Germany. These peculiarities are:

1. The fascist dictatorship in Germany was established against an unconquered working class, which, it is true, temporarily retreated, but which is again rallying for the attack; it was established in a country conquered in the World War, the bourgeoisie of which is shifting all the sacrifices of the war and of reparations onto the shoulders of the toilers. The attempt to reconquer the old position of power within the imperialist world, which is one of the factors which caused the bourgeoisie to hand over power to Hitler, is compelling the German bourgeoisie to carry through its preparations for war at an accelerated rate. But,

". . . the policy of war preparations burdens the toilers of Germany in the interests of finance capital and of Junkerdom with a

new military yoke of exploitation still more severe than that of Versailles and signifies enslavement in the labor service camps for hundreds of thousands of young Germans."

—as was noted by the Political Bureau of the C.C. of the C.P. of Germany in its resolution of October 10.

2. The fascist dictatorship in Germany was established in a country of the extensive shattering of capitalism, in the most industrial country of Europe.

3. The dictatorship was established in a country where the working class had at its disposal the strongest class organization in any capitalist country, with a tradition going back for decades and with cadres of functionaries of the C.P. of Germany and of the Red Trade Union Opposition who had received Marxist training. It was established in a country in which the bourgeoisie is particularly faced with the danger of a rapid turning away of the petty bourgeoisie and of the small and middle peasants from the fascist dictatorship, especially under the effects of a revolutionary upsurge.

3. *Hitler Is Leading Germany Into Catastrophe*

The economic developments in Germany in the ten months of fascist dictatorship show that Hitler is leading Germany into catastrophe. The fascist Hitler government has created its own propaganda apparatus, which uses every device of deception in order to give the illusion to the toiling masses of an overcoming of unemployment and of the depth of the crisis and the commencement of an upward development of industry. But the actual downward development of economy cannot be concealed by the rosy-colored reports on the economic situation of the fascist dictatorship.

It has only been possible to produce a certain revival of production in the steel concerns and rolling mills through

armament orders, but this revival has not in any way kept pace with that in the same industry in other countries. In all other branches of the production of means of production, the output is either for stocks, as in the coal and chemical industry, or a rapid regress is to be noted, as in the machine industry, which is of decisive significance for Germany. Except in the production of steel, iron, coal and automobiles, production during the fascist dictatorship has not even reached the dimensions of production in 1932.

In contrast to the declarations of the "incorporated" Institute for Economic Research sales inside the country have further decreased. This applies above all to the production and sale of means of consumption. In wholesale trade and in retail trade, which is of decisive importance for the position of the small concerns, there is to be noted a steady regress of sales up to 20 per cent and more of the total sale in 1932. The big department stores even show an average decrease in turnover of 27 per cent. This decrease is especially great in regard to objects of cultural need, which is an immediate result of the steadily sinking standard of living of the toilers. Only in the textile industry have sales increased in contrast to the previous year, but that is also only in consequence of the increased orders for material for flags and uniforms. In the food industry sales during the first six months of this year have fallen by 10-13 per cent. These data are based on official figures. It is, however, likely that in reality the decrease in the consumption of the means of subsistence most important in working class households is considerably greater.

In addition to this contraction of the internal market there are the growing difficulties of sales abroad as a consequence of the position in the world market and of the foreign political isolation of the fascist dictatorship. If

during the first half of 1932 Germany, which has had to concentrate on exports, had still an excess of exports of 600,000,000 marks, in the first half of 1933 this excess fell to 29,000,000 marks. In spite of all subsidies from the state, exports sank by 20 per cent; on the other hand, imports during the same period could only be restricted by 13 per cent. Orders for machinery from the Soviet Union, which formerly served to maintain whole branches of production, have become very rare. Hundreds of thousands of German workers have had to pay for the adventurist foreign policy of Hitler, Goering and Goebbels by the loss of their employment.

The financial position of the fascist dictatorship is almost more catastrophic than the position of production. In September a new financial catastrophe threatened; the banks were faced with collapse. The collapse could only be staved off by an alteration of the law governing the currency bank. The president of the Reichsbank was appointed by Hitler as the all-powerful financial dictator, but even he could not alleviate the credit crisis. Long term capital investments are not to be had and however promising of profit a new capital investment is, nevertheless capital holds back on account of the uncertainty of the regime and of the growing danger of revolution. It is already obvious today that German monopoly capital, even with the most extreme exploitation of the toilers, is not able to restore its "normal" rates of profit and that it does not possess any serious prospects of success on the world market.

Hitler's policy, which is the policy of monopoly capital, must necessarily lead to a rapid transition from the hidden inflation already present to an open inflation. The declaration of bankruptcy in regard to foreign countries, the Stand-

still agreement,* the reduction of payment of interest on foreign loans by one half and the currency control have, it is true, prevented open inflation for the time being, but the large sum of interest payments and of repayments of debts, the subsidizing of bankrupt parasitic economy, the financing of the production of war material and the adaption of industry to war are leading ever closer to open inflation. To this must be added the growing deficit in the state budget, which has been given by the government as 2,384,000,000 marks. The government does not even publish the deficit in the extraordinary state budget caused by the increased armament expenditure. In any case the deficit here is likely to exceed several thousand million marks. According to communications in the fascist press the Reichsbank has already extended over five milliards in subsidies for the employers, for export and tax certificates for the Junkers and big peasants and for the militarization of the youth in the labor service camps.

4. *The Fascist Dictatorship Signifies the Intensified Exploitation of the Workers*

Before taking over power, the fascists promised the workers "German socialism," which would bring them higher wages, would abolish short time, would raise the proletariat into "workers" on a level with the employers and would put an end to the rent and food usurers. But what has the "German socialism" of the fascists given to the German workers? Millions of toilers were plunged into the depths of poverty. The exploitation of the working class was intensified to the highest degree. In the ten months of the rule of the fascist dictatorship, the bourgeoisie decreased the standard of living of the working class by 2,600,000,000

* Moratorium.

marks. In order to enable the capitalists to do this the Hitler government forbade strikes, plundered the trade unions, destroyed the working class press, abolished the self-elected factory committees, completely did away with freedom of assembly and organization, smashed all labor organizations and took away their property. The unrestricted absolutism of the capitalist exploiters prevails in the factories.

The Hitler government desires to abolish the wage agreements and to replace the inviolability of the agreements by the introduction of payment by results. The lowest wage level is not to be higher than the charity rate of relief. Premiums and bonuses on production are only to be given in accordance with improvement in output. Up to now the fear of an increased unleashing of the proletarian strike power and of the Communist mobilization of the masses has prevented the Hitler government from the general execution of its reactionary wage policy. But it is pursuing these plans at full pressure.

The Hitler government has carried through all forms of direct wage robbery, from the reduction of piece-work wages to the abolition of whole wage agreements and their replacement by separate agreements in each factory. In order to cut down social expenditure and to decrease vacation pay, the form of dismissal and reinstatement at a lower wage has been usually applied. The replacement of men by women and young workers at correspondingly lower wages is very frequent. Under the Hitler regime the nominal wage fund has fallen from January to August by 900,000,000 marks in comparison with the same period last year. In this connection the strongest wage pressure has been exercised against the economically weakest strata of the workers. At the same time a very marked grading of wages has been introduced.

A few examples of wage reductions. In 1929 a worker of the Leuna Works received a weekly wage of 31 marks; today he receives 19 marks. A woman worker in the film industry formerly earned 45 marks; today she gets from 16 to 18 marks. In 1928 a woman wire-drawer in the Berlin Osram works received 38 marks weekly, today—9.38 marks. The young workers have been particularly exposed to the pressure on wages. In the Film-Wolfen Chemical Works of central Germany the following grading of wages for equal work and equal individual production has been introduced. Taking the wages of a 21-year-old woman worker as 100, a 20-year-old woman worker receives 3 per cent less, a 19-year-old woman worker receives 8 per cent less and an 18-year-old woman worker 15 per cent less.

In addition to direct wage robbery, the fascist dictatorship has especially intensified the indirect wage robbery to the highest degree. This is carried out in the following forms: it has converted the majority of the German workers into short-time workers and thereby decreased their wage receipts by 20 per cent and over. Unmarried men and women workers have a tax of 2-3 per cent of their wages deducted as "marriage relief." But the most brazen wage robbery is shown in the form of the compulsory deduction of "contributions." One to two per cent of wages are withdrawn as "contribution" for providing work. To that must be added the "winter relief contribution" and further, a collection for the "victims of labor." Besides these general compulsory contributions, collections are organized in the factories for the purchase of fascist flags, for the arrangement of fascist festivals and for the benefit of the brown S.A. and S.S. bands.

These "contributions" are compulsorily extorted from the workers. In one Berlin factory belonging to the Siemens

concern in which several thousand workers were engaged, the fascist foreman of a department where most of the workers were women forced the workers to give a weekly contribution of four marks for the "winter relief" from their weekly earnings of twenty-six marks. Whoever refused was threatened with dismissal. Unmarried workers had a further two marks deducted for "marriage relief," so that the two "contributions" together made up 25 per cent of the wages. According to a report in the "incorporated" *Vossische Zeitung* in Berlin, the fascist district leader of the "German Labor Front" in Muenster had to call for the restriction of the extorted compulsory contributions on account of the growing indignation of the workers against them, because, as he himself admits, "the income of the workers owing to short time . . . and contributions of all kinds has sunk almost to the amount of those in receipt of charity relief."

During the ten months of the Hitler dictatorship, the indirect wage robbery carried through in this way amounts approximately to a milliard marks. But that is still not all. Besides this there is the decrease of the purchasing power of wages owing to the rise in prices. Real wages are continually sinking. Prices of foodstuffs in retail trade have risen by 5 per cent between March and September according to official statistics. The former secretary in the Ministry for Agriculture, von Rohr, estimates on the other hand that prices of the most important agricultural products have risen by 18 per cent. Prices of fat and butter alone have risen by 40-50 per cent in this period. Since the workers, employees and officials generally have to expend half of their income on foodstuffs, it follows that the working class has been robbed by the fascist government of at least 600,000,000 marks owing to the increase of food prices.

The Hitler government has threatened with fines and im-

prisonment those grain traders who sell grain below the price legally fixed. Let the toiling masses starve as long as the Junkers and big peasants are made sure of their profits by the maintenance of high grain prices! That is the true class content of the "labor policy" of the Hitler dictatorship.

The Hitler government in the period of its dictatorship has robbed alone from the employed workers, employees and officials:

900,000,000 marks by direct wage robbery.
1,000,000,000 marks by increased taxes, compulsory deduction and contributions.
600,000,000 marks by increase in food prices.

The total wage receipts of the German workers and employees have been decreased by these two and a half billion marks at the hands of the Hitler government, and in return for this they have to produce 15 per cent more than a year ago. Under Weimar democracy, the capitalist was "master in the house." In the "Third Empire" he has been transformed, with the aid of the fascist race theory and principle of leadership, into an individual of "higher race." That is the "German socialism" of the fascists.

5. *The Swindle of the "Abolition of Unemployment"*

Before taking power, and again on May 1, the fascists promised to provide work for the unemployed, to open the factory gates, to set going the machines which had been laid idle and to restore the robbery of social relief carried out by the governments of Hermann Mueller, Bruening and Papen. They have carried out these promises just as little as any of the others.

The Hitler government maintains that it has provided work for more than 3,000,000 unemployed and that in contrast

to the previous year it has enlisted 700,000 to 900,000 additional workers in the process of production. This, however, is nothing but a great swindle, achieved in the main by tricks of calculation in the unemployment statistics.

Some 150,000 young workers who have been put in labor service camps have been simply struck off the lists of unemployed and transferred to the lists of employed.

Some 120,000 harvest hands, young workers who have been compulsorily handed over to the big peasants and who receive no payment in cash for their labor, are reckoned among those who have been given new employment.

Some 100,000 workers, who are given occupation from state funds in the "value creating" unemployment relief as emergency workers and whose low level of relief is taken simply as wages, have been put into the list of the newly employed.

A further 300,000-500,000 workers were given work in the following manner: by transference to the concentration camps, by forcing them to do compulsory labor on the threat of withdrawal of the relief and permanent exclusion from social insurance, by division of the existing work among a larger number of workers through the general introduction of short time and of the 40-hour week without increase in wages, by dismissal of women and older workers.

The first "miracle" of an alleged liquidation of unemployment in a whole district has been reported by the fascists from East Prussia. How, however, this miracle has been achieved, is to be seen from an article in the fascist press entitled, *How It Was Done in East Prussia.* This says:

> "The employers were called upon by circular letters and questionnaires to introduce unemployed into their concerns and were released from the responsibility of payment according to the wages agreement until the unemployed were declared by the inspectors to

be fully capable of working. Those for whom no place of work could be found in private industry have been collected together with their other comrades into labor camps and primarily employed in extra work in road making, works of improvement, or given a place with peasants or farmers as harvest hands. If an unemployed man refuses this work, he not only loses his claim to relief but is cut off from all social insurance. The labor bureau knows no more of him, does not interest itself any more in his fate. In order to stimulate the farmers to employ more such labor forces, they are paid a premium to the amount of two or three weeks' relief pay from the funds of the state institution. A farmer who concludes a wage agreement for one year with an unemployed man receives a special premium of about 240 marks."

In return for this, however, the unemployed man thus occupied is not paid any wages in cash, but receives only his board and lodging and that in an inadequate degree. Where additional workers were really given employment in a factory, they were usually taken on at rates far below the wages agreement.

In so far as an increase in the number of those employed actually took place outside the increase due to seasonal requirements, this was exclusively the case in production of war material and owing to the introduction of short time. Although the government caused it to be proclaimed every fortnight that work had been found for further hundreds of thousands of unemployed, this swindle is belied by the fact that the actual number of unemployed has since some weeks ago again begun to rise. The total number of unemployed at present may be safely reckoned at seven million. The Hitler government has intensified to an extraordinary degree the misery of the unemployed, by the systematic cutting down of unemployment and crisis relief. More than one million marks was withdrawn from unemployment relief funds and taken for financing the programs for providing work, which

are nothing but a present to the house owners, factory owners, big peasants and Junkers. With the relief money taken from the unemployed, motor roads have been built for the war which is being planned, aeroplane bases have been constructed, the labor service camps maintained and a part of the production of war materials financed.

While in 1929, 77 per cent of the unemployed still received relief from the unemployment insurance funds, at present there are hardly 10 per cent who do so. The hundreds of millions of marks which are taken from the wages of the workers as contributions for unemployment insurance go straight into the pockets of the ruling class as subsidies, as means for financing war production and as credits for the Junkers. During the ten months of the Hitler dictatorship, 2,700,000 workers have been robbed of unemployment relief.

This is the realization of the four year plan proclaimed by Hitler for the abolition of unemployment. Hitler has not provided any new work, unless it be in orders for shells, cannon and aeroplane motors. But Hitler has converted the whole working class into short-time workers, has extended the misery of the unemployed to all the workers, has lowered wages, increased the price of bread and robbed social relief funds.

That is the "program of salvation" of the Hitler dictatorship.

6. *The Petty Bourgeoisie, the Small and Middle Peasants as Allies of the Working Class*

Hitler, before taking over power and before the establishment of the fascist dictatorship, promised the petty bourgeoisie and the peasants: to break the enslavement to interest payments, to confiscate the unearned income of the war and inflation profiteers, to nationalize the banks, to close down

the big department stores, to divide up the big landed estates, to abolish the exorbitant salaries, and to declare the agreements with capitalist foreign countries and the Versailles treaty to be null and void.

The Hitler government has not kept the smallest part of these promises. On the contrary, it has intensified the plundering of these strata of the population by monopoly capital and the state.

The whole burden of high rents, taxes and interest, trade rents and professional charges—the burden which is ruining the urban middle classes—has remained. The long tail of taxes—occupation tax, citizen's tax, taxes on turnover, beer, salt, sugar, tobacco and liquor—all remain. These burdens have been further heightened by the continual extraction of begging and compulsory contributions.

The fascists promised the small and poor peasants everything that they wanted. State guarantee of small ownership, establishment of a new peasant aristocracy, a fair price for heavy work, concessions—all these hopes were held out. A moratorium was declared against compulsory sales by auction and after it had expired it was prolonged for the immediate period up to the beginning of next year out of fear of the growing dissatisfaction in the villages.

Hitler's promises to give land to the landless peasants were not kept. Not a single big landed estate has been confiscated. The increase of prices of fats and butter was characterized as "an action for saving the small peasants." But owing to the simultaneous increase of all fodder prices, by the establishment of the fodder monopoly, the small peasant is worse off today than he was before. The advantage rests solely with the Junkers and big peasants who can exchange grain farming for fodder crops.

The land inheritance law of the Hitler government shows

the policy in favor of the big peasants. The 500,000 hereditary farms of these strata receive all possible privileges—annulment of debts, exoneration from taxes on inheritance, immunity from partitions, protection from compulsory sales by auction. In addition to the entailed property of the big estate owners, a privileged feudal big peasantry has been fostered, which carries out the economic exploitation and political expropriation of the small and middle peasantry even more harshly than hitherto.

But, in spite of all the favors which the Hitler government lavishes on the Junkers and the big peasants, it is not able to arrest the continually intensifying agrarian crisis. This crisis is in the main a consequence of the diminution in the purchasing power of the toiling masses, of the workers, employees and petty bourgeoisie, carried through in the interest of monopoly capitalism. The masses have not enough to eat, but the grain stocks in Germany are accumulating and are greater today than ever before. The masses cannot afford to buy meat, but cattle for slaughter find no buyers. Over 500,000 fewer pigs and over 50,000 fewer cattle were sold in the first half of 1933 than during the same period in the previous year. The sufferers from this agrarian crisis are the small and middle peasants.

Only big capital and the Junkerdom gains advantage from the policy of the Hitler government. Advantage accrues to the gang of fascist leaders themselves, who present themselves with country houses at the cost of the state, who garb themselves in new general's uniforms, who keep bodyguards, who draw sixfold salaries and among whom corruption flourishes more than it ever did under the Weimar democracy.

Fascist demagogy is beginning to lose its effect on the petty bourgeois masses. German monopoly capital regards it

as all the more necessary to divert the attention of the masses from the growing misery in the country and to direct the growing dissatisfaction into the channels of chauvinism and war-like intoxication. The so-called "referendum" of November 12 served exclusively this purpose. The threatening catastrophe in the interior of the country forces the Hitler government to attempt to find a way out in the direction of foreign political adventures of war.

7. *The Fascist Dictatorship in Germany as the Focus of European War Preparations*

Before and after his taking over of power, Hitler promised national liberation, the establishment of equality with other states, the removal of the frontiers dictated in Versailles and Saint Germain, the joining of Austria to Germany and the wiping out of the shame of Versailles. The result of ten months of fascist dictatorship is that the relations of Germany to other states in the world have almost without exception changed for the worse. The attempt at a revision of the treaties by the imperialist way and new division of the world by force puts war on the order of the day. The Hitler government wishes to drive the toiling people of Germany into this war. Hitler is undertaking the attempt to bridge over the imperialist antagonisms on the basis of an alliance of all imperialist countries against the Soviet Union and at the same time to organize war against the Soviet Union. The push towards the East, the annexationist policy against the Soviet Union which is supported by the anti-Soviet and anti-Bolshevik policy of Social-Democracy and the Second International is the basic tendency in the foreign policy of the fascist war criminals.

Hitler, in his book, *My Struggle*, writes as follows on the

foreign policy which should be pursued by a fascist Germany:

> "For Germany the sole possibility for carrying through a sound land policy lay in the winning of new land in Europe itself . . . If one desired land in Europe, this, generally speaking, could only be done at the expense of Russia, and the empire would once again have to begin marching along the road of the former knights, in order, with the German sword, to give soil to the German plough and daily bread to the nation."

This was also the line of the Hugenberg memorandum to the London Conference, which demanded "the Russian Ukraine as a colonial area owing to the space needs of the people." The exit of the Hitler government from the League of Nations was also in accordance with this line. The heavy industrialist robber knights and the fascist adventurers in Germany were only waiting for Japanese imperialism to invade the Soviet Union in the Far East.

On the day after the declaration of Germany's exit from the League of Nations, Hitler and Goebbels, the alleged fighters against Versailles, in a public speech offered the French general staff to form an alliance against world bolshevism. On these grounds they have now come to an agreement with Poland, not to attack each other, according to which the Hitler government for the present renounces its claim to the Polish corridor in order to pave the way for a German-Polish alliance against the workers' and peasants' power of the Soviet Union.

The Hitler government, with the application of all economic and financial means, is pursuing preparations for war at the most rapid pace. It has already increased the Reichswehr to double its previous strength, to 200,000, and already has at its disposal today over half a million men trained

for war in the two formations of the Hitler bands, the S.A. and the S.S., together with the "incorporated" Steel Helmets and police. The production of guns, aeroplanes, tanks, and other war material is being increased to the utmost. In addition, there is the military strengthening of the frontiers in the East.

Germany has become more than ever the focus point of continual danger of war in Europe. The endeavor to join Austria to Germany has led to an extraordinary intensification of all the imperialist antagonisms in Europe, which carries with it the imminent danger of war.

In these war preparations, German Social-Democracy, like all the parties of the Second International, stands on the side of the bourgeoisie. In the Reichstag on May 17 it gave its approval to the armaments and war program of the Hitler government in foreign politics; and by its direct collaboration with the bourgeois military-sport organizations, it began the present militarization of the youth through the establishment of labor service camps.

Hitler promised national liberation to the masses in Germany and got himself carried into power on a wave of chauvinism. But how does this national liberation look in regard to the masses of the toilers in Germany?

It has brought them new war preparations in the interest of finance capital, which denote a still heavier military yoke in comparison with the burdens of Versailles.

It has brought them a further cutting down of wages and a further cutting down of relief for the unemployed, the increase in prices of means of subsistence, and has robbed the middle class of all possibilities of revival. It has brought the militarization of the entire working youth and has produced a rising chauvinistic mood of hatred in all other countries against bellicose fascist Germany.

It has brought an unheard-of bloody terror against the Communists and revolutionary workers.

The path of fascist dictatorship is the path into catastrophe. It is the opening of civil war against its own toiling people. It is the path to the battlefields of a more terrible mass murder than in 1914-18.

Fascism must die if the proletariat is to live.

IV. Without Social-Democracy No Fascist Dictatorship

The sole force which could have prevented the fascist dictatorship or which can defeat it is the German working class united on the ground of the class struggle. The Communist Party has unceasingly struggled to bring about this unity. It repeatedly called upon the masses in the Social-Democratic Party and trade unions to carry through in common with the Communists the general strike for the prevention and overthrow of the fascist dictatorship. But the Social-Democratic Party and trade union leaders have not only split the workers by their counter-revolutionary policy and their united front with the bourgeoisie; they desire also to maintain their split in order to prevent a united struggle, to prevent the victory of the working class. It is essentially this which constitutes their role as the main social support of the bourgeoisie. The unity of the German working class can therefore only be brought about by the liquidation of the mass influence of Social-Democracy. The establishment of the fascist dictatorship was only possible for the bourgeoisie in consequence of the sabotage of the class struggle pursued by Social-Democracy, its disorganization and disarming of the proletariat and its ever more pronounced fusion with the capitalist state apparatus. Only owing to the fact that the Communist Party of Germany, as the revolutionary vanguard, was robbed of the support of the majority of the working class by the Social-Democratic policy of splitting, could finance capital erect its terroristic dictatorship over the proletariat.

The Communist Party has endeavored with all its forces to struggle among the masses against the theory of the "inevitability of the fascist dictatorship"—a theory put forward by Social-Democracy in order to cover up its crime. Our strategy and tactics have proceeded from the basic position that, in the race between the forces of revolution and counter-revolution, the only way to prevent the further extension of the fascist dictatorship was to intensify the anti-fascist united front struggles, to lead the workers on to strikes, to the political mass strike and the general strike. In utilizing the experience of July 20 last year and in carrying through the tasks set by the Twelfth Plenum of the E.C.C.I. in the struggle against fascism, the Party mobilized its forces for a new, higher stage of anti-fascist action. With its fighting appeal to the working class of Germany—"Unite for common struggle against wage robbery and fascist dictatorship!"—it again corroborated its repeatedly expressed readiness "to carry on a common struggle with every organization which unites workers and which really desires to conduct a struggle."

The mobilization for struggle and strike on the basis of our united front policy with the Social-Democratic workers led to a very great increase in the force of the proletariat. The latter answered the Papen dictatorship's attack on wages with a counter-attack. The wage-robbery decree was frustrated in more than nine hundred strikes. In hundreds of partial struggles in the factories, we Communists proved to the workers that we are the only ones who know how to organize strikes and lead them to victory.

The highest point of this strike wave was the Berlin transport workers' strike on the eve of the Reichstag elections of November 6. It led almost up to the political mass strike. Without the organization and leading of these hundreds of

partial struggles and strikes, it would hardly have been possible for the Communist Party to have launched this mass strike in Berlin. The working class achieved with it the greatest political success of the whole year, although it had to be broken off with only insignificant material successes for the transport workers in consequence of the organization of strike breaking by the Social-Democratic Party and trade union leaders.

The Papen Ministry, as one of the forms of fascist dictatorship, was broken by the mass strike power of the working class. The tempo of the revolutionary wave was visibly beginning to catch up the chauvinist wave stirred up by the bourgeoisie. But the Berlin transport workers' strike showed not only the workers but also the bourgeoisie what power resides in the united fighting proletariat under the leadership of the C.P. of Germany. General von Schleicher, in command of the Reichswehr at that time, declared that with a continuance and increase of the Berlin transport strike the entire Prussian police apparatus would not have been any more in a position to maintain order in the state.

The political significance of the wave of mass strikes also found expression in the result of the Reichstag election of November 6 in which the Nazis, as the fascist party of the German bourgeoisie, lost two million votes. The vacillating petty bourgeoisie began to change its orientation in the direction of the fighting working class. The Leninist doctrine was confirmed that the intermediate classes can only be brought on to the path of revolution by the revolutionary activity of the proletariat.

Without the strike breaking of Social-Democracy and its trade union bureaucracy, the bourgeoisie would not have succeeded in putting a stop to the broad strike wave. Out of the strike of the Berlin transport workers and of the

Hamburg tramwaymen, great political mass strikes could have developed which alone could have prevented the establishment of the fascist dictatorship. But the Social-Democratic Party executive and the German General Trade Union Federation (A.D.G.B.) brutally stifled every strike and put themselves without concealment on the side of the fascist state apparatus. From this it stands out clearly recognizable for every worker that Social-Democracy and the A.D.G.B. prevented the German proletariat from the victorious carrying through of their struggles and that they put themselves as an obstacle in the path of the unity of the German proletariat. By preventing the general strike they made possible the establishment of the open terrorist dictatorship of finance capital.

The Papen government which was overthrown by the strike movement was followed by the Schleicher Ministry with which the bourgeoisie undertook the attempt, behind a smoke-screen of social phrases, of regrouping and unifying all the fascist forces for a new decisive onslaught against the revolutionary movement. The more powerfully the united front movement of the workers developed and the more the bourgeoisie therefore had to strengthen its attempt for the terrorist suppression of the revolutionary forces, so much the more varied and cunning had to be the maneuvers of Social-Democracy for maintaining the splitting of the proletariat and for preventing the mass struggles. In all its words and actions it applied itself to the task of breaking the strike movement which had undergone such stormy development under Papen, of deceiving the workers as to the seriousness of the situation and the danger represented by the spasmodic character of the fascist development, and of suppressing the desire of the Social-Democratic workers for the united front. The Schleicher Ministry was intended

to enable Social-Democracy and the trade union movement to lull to sleep the class vigilance of the proletariat in regard to the threatening further development of the fascist dictatorship. This object was to be served by the pseudo-amnesty, the formal withdrawal of the Papen wage-robbery decree, the declaration of civil peace, the ban on the ending of wage agreements, the removal of the ban on the *Rote Fahne*. These socially treacherous measures of the Schleicher Ministry were utilized by Social-Democracy for continuing and intensifying its policy of toleration, but above all for obstructing the strike movements which were so dangerous to the bourgeoisie. It characterized the Schleicher policy as a new era of social and political achievements on the basis of the parliamentary rules of the game. The A.D.G.B. leaders headed by Leipart raised Schleicher to the rank of the "social" general. Comrade Thaelmann, however, at the Hamburg District Party Congress in the beginning of December, characterized the position created by the Schleicher Ministry with the following warning to the proletariat:

> "With the constitution of the Schleicher Cabinet we are entering upon a new and accentuated stage of the fascist dictatorship . . . We must be armed against surprise maneuvers and against sensational surprise methods of attack."

But however much the Party sought to mobilize the masses, not to slacken the strike struggles and to increase the struggles against the Schleicher Cabinet, still the deceptive maneuver carried through with the aid of the S.P.G. had the effect of slackening the strike spirit among the masses. The Nazis immediately utilized this slackening of the fighting mood of the workers for strong provocatory demonstrations against the C.P. of Germany, by means of which they also intended to overthrow the Schleicher gov-

ernment. The decisive sections of finance capital openly put the question of Hitler's taking over the government and the establishment of fascist dictatorship. The Nazi parade on January 22 in Berlin, which marched past our Party headquarters—it is true, only under the protection of enormous police forces—represented the attempt to whip together all the fascist forces for the carrying through of these plans of the Nazis. The Party sounded the alarm to the whole working class not only in Berlin but in the whole country and called upon them to organize counter-parades and carry through political protest strikes, and it raised the question of the political mass strike in Berlin. A few days later, on January 25, the Berlin proletariat in a mighty demonstration showed its readiness for struggle and its glowing determination for the united front. Although the S.P.G. characterized this demonstration as "putschism," "crime," "adventurism," it became one of the mightiest fighting demonstrations with an extraordinarily strong participation on the part of Social-Democratic workers. While Social-Democracy characterized the Nazi parade as a severe defeat of the Berlin workers, the chief editor of *Vorwaerts*, Stampfer, wrote two days later on the counter-march of his "great experience," of "the heroism of the Communist workers who in freezing cold marched for hours past the Central Committee of their Party." This demonstration, however, signalized for the S.P.G. the danger that the Social-Democratic workers might ever more strongly unite with the Communists. By means of a proposal of a non-aggression pact between the leaders of the C.P. of Germany and the S.P.G., which they spread during these days among the masses and above all in the factories, they tried to prevent an agreement being reached among the workers on revolutionary united front actions from below. This came out

quite openly in the demonstration which the Berlin Reichsbanner organized in the Berlin Lustgarten twenty-four hours before Hitler took over power. Although the leader of the Reichsbanner, Hoeltermann, declared there that perhaps within twenty-four hours the decision would already be made on the establishment of the Hitler dictatorship, no kind of call to struggle was issued, but on the contrary a warning was made against independent actions of the Communists which were characterized as a crime. Thus, Social-Democracy, as on July 20, delivered the workers entirely without struggle into the hands of fascist dictatorship.

Twenty-four hours later, on January 30, the bourgeoisie handed over governmental power to the Hitler party for the establishment of the fascist dictatorship. The bankruptcy of all bourgeois parties and of their methods of government in the carrying through of the capitalist starvation program, the rapid contraction of the Social-Democratic mass basis, the growing differences among the leaders of the bourgeoisie, the advance of the revolutionary forces, compelled the bourgeoisie to make the experiment of entrusting the terrorist bulwark and strongest mass party of the bourgeoisie, hitherto outside the government, with the striking down of the revolutionary workers' movement.

The Communist Party at once addressed itself with a renewed general strike proposal to the S.P.G. and A.D.G.B. and called on the masses to struggle with the following slogans:

"On to the streets!"

"Stop work in the factories!"

"Reply at once to the blow of the fascist blood-hounds with the strike, with the mass strike, with the general strike!"

Social-Democracy rejected the general strike, although only twenty-four hours before in the Lustgarten demonstra-

tion they had deceptively spoken of the application of "the most extreme methods of struggle" against the attempt to establish the Hitler dictatorship. They declared that Hitler had been constitutionally appointed by Hindenburg, that the proletariat ought not "prematurely to expend the general strike gunpowder" and that all forces must be concentrated on the Reichstag elections fixed for March 5, the result of which should be awaited. Social-Democracy and the A.D.G.B. concentrated their attacks not against the Hitler dictatorship but against the Communist Party in order to keep the masses from following the general strike slogan. An extremely excited mood prevailed among the Social-Democratic Party and trade union masses, but their power of decision was hampered by the deceptive maneuvers of their leaders which caused them to take up a waiting attitude. Social-Democracy employed its strongest maneuvers of deception in order to hold the masses back from the struggle. They declared that Hitler would have to govern according to the constitution, that his efforts would be futile and that his administration would play itself out. The obstruction of the strike movement by Social-Democracy during the Schleicher era also caused the petty bourgeoisie whose chauvinist feelings had been whipped up by the Nazis, to turn towards the supposedly stronger power of the latter.

Thus the result of the policy of the splitting of the working class by Social-Democracy was to prevent the majority of the working class from following the call to struggle of the C.P. of Germany for preventing the fascist dictatorship. But without this support of the majority of the working class, the C.P.G. was not in a position victoriously to carry through the general strike and the struggle for power against the Hitler dictatorship. It would have committed a crime against the whole working class, if, under these circum-

stances, it had led the vanguard alone into the struggle. The resolution of the Presidium of the E.C.C.I. on the position in Germany passed on April 1 very correctly says:

> "The characteristic peculiarity of the situation at the moment of the Hitler *coup* consists in the fact that these prerequisites for victorious insurrection had not yet been able to come to maturity at that time, they were only present in embryo."

In connection with this a reference was made to one of the teachings of Lenin:

> "With the vanguard alone one cannot conquer. To throw the vanguard alone into the decisive struggle, as long as the entire class, as long as the wide masses, do not directly support the advance guard or at least exercise a benevolent neutrality towards it—would be not only a stupidity but a crime."

This may be said to those who inside and outside the Party maintain that the Communist Party failed and missed the moment for armed uprising.

On German Social-Democracy and trade union bureaucracy alone rests the tremendous guilt, by splitting the working class and by its criminal policy, for having assisted fascism to power and having made possible the establishment of the fascist dictatorship. When in 1918 it struck down the proletarian revolution it swindled the masses with talk of the democratic peaceful development to socialism, without the dictatorship of the proletariat. It led the masses to fascism. It bears the blame for the fact that Hitler and his gangs have tortured hundreds of revolutionary fighters to death and that hundreds of thousands have been cast into the concentration camps.

The correctness of the tactics and strategy of all Communist Parties in irreconcilable struggle against Menshevism of all varieties could not be better confirmed than by the

German developments. The winning of the majority of the working class by the complete eradication of Social-Democratic mass influence, especially in the trade unions, the sharpest struggle against all Social-Democratic influences inside our Party, against all varieties of opportunism—this is the main lesson of the history of the fascist seizure of power in Germany, this is the condition and prerequisite for the overthrow of the fascist dictatorship and for the establishment of the proletarian dictatorship.

What now was the attitude of Social-Democracy after January 30, after the establishment of the Hitler dictatorship? Social-Democracy undertook every attempt to deceive the workers as to the true character of the Hitler dictatorship, to hold them back from every serious struggle and to hand them over to the Hitler dictatorship. The *Metallarbeiter-Zeitung* of April 1, 1933 (when it was not yet "incorporated") wrote:

> "If now at last active measures are going to be taken against economic suffering, no one will welcome that more heartily than the trade unions. Their own collaboration will certainly not be lacking. If the government now sets to work with a will, it will be possible for it to make moral conquests also among the 45 per cent of the people who did not vote for it on March 5."

On May 1 the Social-Democratic trade union bureaucracy called upon the workers to demonstrate under Hitler's swastika flag. On May 1 Walter Pahl, one of Leipart's trusted men, wrote in an article which went through the whole trade union press:

> "We truly do not need to have to make great efforts in order to recognize that the victory of national-socialism, although it was achieved in the struggle against a party which is reckoned by us to be the bearer of the socialist idea, is also our victory, inasmuch as the socialist task is today put before the whole nation."

On May 17 the Social-Democratic fraction in the Reichstag recorded its approval of Hitler's government declaration, and the Social-Democratic Party executive on Hitler's order made its exit from the Second International. If, in spite of these services of Social-Democracy for Hitler, its organization was forbidden, this did not happen because it was a danger to the fascist dictatorship but from a quite different reason: with the continuance of this sheer naked betrayal of working class interests at the hands of Social-Democracy, its legal organizations would undoubtedly have become a reservoir for the Social-Democratic workers' opposition against their counter-revolutionary leadership and thereby also against the fascist dictatorship, in so far as these workers did not go over directly to the Communists.

Even after the ban on its organization Social-Democracy remains the main social prop of the bourgeoisie. It continues its policy of splitting the working class and even attempts to deepen this policy. It directs its struggle, its provocations and slanders, only against the Communist Party, it carries on sabotage of the mass struggle against fascism, the hindering of this struggle of the only revolutionary class. It strives for a repetition of the policy of coalition at a higher level, which under the present circumstances may find its expression in a *bloc* with Hugenberg.

Social-Democracy has carried out its policy of splitting the working class and pervading the latter with reformist ideology not only through the great organizational apparatus of the Party, trade unions, sickness benefit funds, municipal and other institutions but it has also instilled into the masses the Social-Democratic poison for the destruction of class consciousness by a whole complex of petty-bourgeois ideology. This ideology continues to represent a source of danger for the working class.

The labor aristocracy in Germany, which formed the basis for the reformist policy of Social-Democracy, has also not vanished, even though it has become considerably smaller by the general spread of poverty. The policy of the fascist dictatorship is directed precisely towards increasing this differentiation in the living standards of the masses, if only in that it worsens the level of the standard of life. The attempts of the fascists to create for themselves a basis in the factories by means of the N.S.B.O. remain fairly unsuccessful. So here, too, the bourgeoisie needs the aid of Social-Democracy.

Social-Democracy pursues a policy of creating reserves in order to come to the aid of capitalism again at the first symptom of a collapse of the fascist dictatorship, so as, as in 1918, to function as the grave-digger of the German revolution.

Social-Democracy is going through its greatest crisis. It is in decomposition, it is at its deepest decline but it would be false to assume that it has ceased to exist. It is for us Communists to destroy it. Every vacillation in our position of struggle in relation to Social-Democracy, every ambiguity in our united front policy for winning the Social-Democratic masses, increases the danger of the reconsolidation of Social-Democracy and could bar our successful way to the restoration of the unity of the working class. We must direct our greatest attention to the processes going on in Social-Democracy, particularly to the maneuvers with which the Right and "Left" S.P.G. leaders attempt to blur the vision of the S.P.G. workers. The establishment of the fascist dictatorship gave rise to a very depressed mood among large strata of Social-Democratic workers, which among the so-called "Lefts" became converted into a mood of panic. I will quote here only a couple of statements of these so-called "Lefts":

"We have been utterly defeated in Germany"—groans Bienstock—"Democratic socialism has lost its strongest positions, not only in Central Europe but *in the entire world.*"

"The history of mankind . . . will be thrown back many centuries"—prophesies Miles.

"We have suffered a tremendous defeat"—howl the Trotskyists and the Brandlerists. The Neumann-Remmele group shrieks about "the victory of fascism and the defeat of the proletariat."

One or two reawakened conciliators add their voices to this counter-revolutionary outcry.

The Social-Democratic Party executive, which has emigrated to Prague, realized the danger which this mood of pessimistic depression represented for Social-Democracy. In a platform, which it quickly pieced together and entitled "Revolution against Hitler," it strikes a pose and declares that Social-Democracy can only continue to exist as "revolutionary Social-Democracy" and that "total revolution" must be opposed to the "total state" of Hitler. But its whole policy is calculated to persuade the bourgeoisie that Social-Democracy must inevitably be used "in order to prevent Germany from falling into Bolshevik chaos."

But the Social-Democratic leaders who have remained in Germany, above all the old or new "Lefts," realize that with such an undisguised anti-Bolshevik program of the Party executive the Social-Democratic workers cannot be held back from going over into the Communist camp. It is precisely the dauntless struggle of the revolutionary vanguard which is pulling the S.P.G. workers out of their mood of depression and drawing them into the anti-fascist front. Many of them are working in close conjunction with us Communists, and are distributing our newspapers, leaflets, and literature. Indignation at the treachery and cowardice of their leaders is combined in their case with a critical examination of the fundamental problems of the labor move-

ment. They are beginning to realize that the way propounded by their leaders—the way of "peaceful growing into socialism" by way of bourgeois democracy—has led to the setting up of fascist dictatorship. They busy themselves very seriously with the problems of proletarian or bourgeois dictatorship, of bourgeois or proletarian democracy and the use of violence in the class struggle. They are beginning to realize that the causes for the setting up of fascist dictatorship lie in the splitting policy of their leaders, and that this policy has its roots in the pre-war policy of Social-Democracy, in the bourgeoisifying of Social-Democracy, the growth of an aristocracy of labor.

The "Left" phrase-mongers of Social-Democracy try to intercept this growing recognition and feeling of opposition among the Social-Democratic workers by means of a widespread campaign of "self-criticism," in order to prevent the workers from drawing the only correct revolutionary conclusion of going over into the ranks of the C.P.G. In his pamphlet *A Fresh Beginning! Fascism or Socialism*, Miles, one of the Right agents of the party leadership in "Left" disguise, writes as follows:

> "It is therefore a historical illusion to believe that until August 1914 German Social-Democracy was in essence a revolutionary Marxist party, and that then, owing to the baseness or lack of comprehension of the leaders, it became untrue to Marxism. It could never betray principles which it never possessed. August 1914 was not the cause of the bourgeoisifying of Social-Democracy but only its revelation. It only exposed openly what had always existed already . . . In the subsequent period of the Weimar Republic, German Social-Democracy also remained true to its basic principles, which approve the bourgeois state and capitalism." (p. 39)

This admission is made from the demagogic motive of persuading the Social-Democratic workers that from now

on everything is going to be better in the camp of Social-Democracy, in order to prevent them from recognizing the correctness of the Communist policy of the united front. The "Left" agents of the S.P.G. leadership both in Germany and abroad are beginning to play an impudent and treacherous game with radical words. At the Paris conference of the Second International, Aufhaeuser spoke of the necessity of an "educational dictatorship" as a "transition stage."

In view of the growing sympathies of the S.P.G. workers for the unshakable power of the Soviet Union, and the great successes of socialist construction, the S.P.G. demagogues are trying to meet these feelings with a few phrases, but in the same breath they try to persuade the workers that "Bolshevik tactics are inapplicable to Western Europe." They impudently declare that the Communist International and its sections, by applying to the German labor movement the Bolshevik theory and tactics which led to the victory of the October Revolution, have as a result brought the fascist dictatorship into power. The above-mentioned Miles writes in his pamphlet *Fascism or Socialism*:

> "The real reason for the failure of the German socialist labor movement is the split caused in it, even if from revolutionary motives, by the Communist International."

Thus, these betrayers want to persuade the workers that both parties, not only the S.P.G., but also the C.P.G., have failed, and that the leaders of both parties bear the guilt. The disillusionment of the S.P.G. workers in their own party leadership is to be transferred to the Communist Party, in order to hold back the workers from joining this Party. In this, the Social-Democratic betrayers are supported by the whole gang of Trotskyists, the Socialist Labor Party, the Brandlerites, who are widening the split in the working class

still further by the founding of a new party and even of a Fourth International, and thus coming to the aid of the bourgeoisie and of fascism.

It is our task to expose the role of these agencies of fascism before the Social-Democratic workers by drawing the Social-Democratic workers into the daily struggle against the Hitler dictatorship, in order thus to build the united front, to liberate them from the remnants of Social-Democratic tradition and to draw them as organized fighters into the Communist front of struggle.

In our *Open Letter to Social-Democratic Workers* we laid down the basic line of our struggle for the unity of our own class and quite clearly put the question of proletarian dictatorship and Soviet power. But in our practical policy there are still several weaknesses apparent, sometimes even dangerous opportunist deviations. This is especially true where our comrades, misconceiving our policy of the united front, have helped the Social-Democratic workers to form the S.P.G.'s own illegal organizations. We must tell the Social-Democratic workers quite plainly that any re-establishment of the demolished Social-Democratic organization is harmful to the cause of the working class, that the C.P.G. is the sole revolutionary workers' party. However, it is also harmful when our comrades, through fear of being swamped by the Social-Democratic workers, hinder the latter from coming over into our Party. These workers of course do not become Communists as soon as they join the Party, but their very decision to join us, especially at this time when the Party is illegal, shows that they have broken with their Social-Democratic traditions. It is part of the work of our comrades to help them to become good Communists. It goes without saying that we must ensure firm Communist leader-

ship in our organization and in all our actions. The same is true for the winning over of Social-Democratic trade union members for the formation of independent, class trade unions. Our slogan must be: "Every Communist a leader of a group of five Social-Democratic workers and trade union members." There is another false conception which we must oppose, namely that the Social-Democratic workers will come to us of their own accord and that we do not need to make special efforts about their coming over to the C.P.G.

The present situation in the German labor movement offers us the possibility of destroying the mass influence of the S.P.G. and of re-establishing the unity of the labor movement on a revolutionary basis. Our task is to win over the Social-Democratic workers so that they may march together with us in the revolutionary united front, in the Communist Party, in the independent class unions, to revolution, to the liberation of the working class, to socialism.

V. The Role of the Party and the Revolutionary Way Out

1. *The Prerequisites of Revolution*

The Party regards it as its central task to lead on the proletariat to the struggle for power with the aid of the political mass strike, of the general strike. The decisive prerequisite for this is the winning over of the majority of the working class on the basis of organizing and leading the economic and political partial struggles, the creation of the militant united front with the Social-Democratic workers and the winning over of the Christian workers, those who have been duped by the National-Socialists and of the non-party workers. The fulfilment of this main task is most intimately bound up with the task of developing independent class trade unions and making them real mass organizations which prepare and carry through the economic struggles of the proletariat, and which must become the principal organizations uniting the Party with the broad masses of the workers.

In the struggles of the working class the middle strata of the towns and the small peasant masses gain increased confidence in it, and this makes it more easy for us to win over these masses, as allies of the proletariat for the people's revolution.

In carrying out our revolutionary mass policy, we try to oppose the danger of Right opportunist mistakes, which consist in following in the wake of the spontaneously growing discontent of the masses and in the underestimation of the

objective conditions for an accelerated revolutionization of the situation. It goes without saying that we also combat the "Left" sectarian tendencies, which show themselves in the conception that the course of development in itself makes for a revolutionary crisis, that this process takes place along a straight course without hindrances and occasional setbacks, that fascist dictatorship has already been deprived of all capacity to maneuver.

We do our best to make the masses understand that the tempo at which the historic moment for the overthrow of fascist dictatorship is brought nearer is dependent on the strength and struggles of the working class, that it is our task to develop the Party into the sole mass party of the proletariat, which rallies around itself all anti-fascist forces and leads them into the struggle. We always bear in mind the teaching of Lenin, who wrote in 1909:

> "The party which will understand how to consolidate itself in order to work in conjunction with the masses, conscious of its goal, the party of the advanced class which will understand how to organize its vanguard, which will direct its forces towards influencing every expression of the life of the proletariat in a social-democratic (*i.e.*, today, in a Communist) spirit—this party will conquer under all circumstances."

2. *The C.P.G.—the Largest Illegal Bolshevik Mass Organization*

It is a unique fact in the history of the international labor movement that a party of 300,000 members and 6,000,000 voters, with 35 daily papers, has succeeded in transferring its organization, as a mass organization, to an illegal basis. The class enemy with whom we are faced has at his disposal the whole apparatus of state power. In Germany we have to do with one of the most highly organized bourgeoisie in

Europe—a bourgeoisie which has accumulated great experience in the struggle against the revolutionary working class. But the German working class, if its ranks are united, has at its disposal forces which will overthrow the class enemy. The Communist Party, as leader and vanguard of the working class, is the power which is developing these forces in the proletariat and making it capable of overthrowing the bourgeoisie and of seizing power for itself.

The utilization of all terrorist forces by the bourgeoisie has from the very first moment inflicted heavy losses on the Communist Party. More than 60,000 functionaries and members have been arrested, hundreds have been tortured to death by the cruellest methods, nearly 2,000 revolutionary workers have since this time been murdered by the fascist gangs. About 100,000 workers are held prisoners in the concentration camps. In many cases the wives and children of comrades who are living and working under illegal conditions are taken as hostages. Recently, prior to the so-called "referendum" of November 12, fourteen workers were murdered by the fascists and over a thousand arrested in Berlin alone. In proportion as the revolutionary upsurge develops, fascism will attempt to intensify terror and provocations against the militant proletariat. In the face of the threatened murder of hostages in the concentration camps and prisons, the brutal assassinations which Goering, the head butcher of the brown shirts, threatened in the Leipzig trial against Dimitroff and our other comrades—from the midst of the severe struggle which we are waging—we call upon the international proletariat, upon the Communists of all countries, for active solidarity in struggle, for support of the illegal work of the German Communists. The international proletariat can be sure that the German Communists will do their revolutionary duty.

Despite the mass arrests and persecutions of its functionaries by the Hitler dictatorship the Party organization has remained intact. The number of members does not in itself afford any adequate proof of this, nevertheless it gives a criterion of how far the organization has maintained itself against the fascist dictatorship. Whereas in January the Party still had over 300,000 members, after the setting up of the fascist dictatorship this figure declined to 49 per cent by the end of April and to 37 per cent in June. The decline in the number of members paying dues varied greatly in various districts. There were Party districts in which 80 or 90 per cent of the former members were still paying their dues in May and June, while in other districts the membership declined to 30 or 25 per cent. This, however, does not mean that the comrades were untrue to the Party; it is to be attributed partly to the arrests, partly to the severing of connections, to the arrest of the leaders. In August and September, before the second wave of terror set in, the total membership had increased to 45 per cent of the old figure. The introduction of a system of paying dues without stamps has made it rather difficult to find an exact means of calculating the number of members. But we can say with absolute certainty that in every moment of the past ten months we had over 100,000 Communists in the Party who not only paid their dues but who were also really active workers.

The Party had indeed prepared itself for illegality long before the coming of the Hitler dictatorship. Nevertheless, lack of experience, mechanical comparisons with the Party's illegal condition in 1923, and certain legalistic tendencies in regard to the tempo and extent of fascist terror and to the depth of illegality into which the Party was plunged, caused considerable harm in the Party. Another factor was that

the lower and middle functionaries found it rather difficult to escape the persecution of the class enemy, since they were known to him from their long years of legal work. Another factor was that for economic reasons they were compelled to go to work to earn their living or to draw benefit as unemployed at the unemployment bureaus, where they fell into the hands of their persecutors. Moreover, the social-fascist police apparatus of the Weimar Republic had accomplished an extensive preliminary work for the fascist dictatorship by drawing up comprehensive card-indexes of Communist functionaries. And one further reason was that cadres of functionaries were not replaced quickly enough.

The political mass organizations were very slow in learning how to build up their own illegal apparatus. In this respect there were even open tendencies toward liquidating these organizations, or important Party forces were demanded from the Party for transferring the mass organizations to an illegal basis.

The reorganization of the Party organization could only be accomplished slowly, step by step and with constant interruptions due to the measures taken by the class enemy. The former departments in the Central Committee and in the district committees were dissolved and their work transferred to a few comrades. The comrades from the leading committees were distributed to control and supervise the work in the Party districts, the factories, the mass organizations, trade unions and among the youth. The former system of conveying information and directions by means of general circulars, a constant mistake which tended to schematize our organizational work hitherto, was replaced by special concrete communications in words or in writing containing the concrete application of the general line of the Party to the peculiarities of individual districts, local groups and enter-

prises. The whole organization was diminished as a result of extensive centralization of the leadership and the utmost political independence for the lower units. This work however has been made much more difficult for us owing to the fact that with a few exceptions almost nothing is left of the old leading committees of the districts and sub-districts. Their place has been taken by completely new cadres of functionaries which have developed out of the conditions of profound illegality and of the struggle with the fascists. The Party committees in the various districts and localities are now set up by a combination of election and co-option. At the beginning a number of comrades were of the opinion that in application of the principle of democratic centralism the system of electing Party committees should in every case be maintained as a matter of principle. In an organizational circular an exact system was elaborated as to how this election to conferences and delegate sessions was to be carried into effect. Subsequent events however very quickly showed that this is impossible in practice if we are not to sustain severe losses.

The former weaknesses of our factory work have not yet been overcome. Even today tendencies are still to be met with of transferring Party work from the factories to the place of residence. On the other hand, certain progress has been made in the organization of work in the factories. The carrying of our work into the factories from outside, the establishment of connection with the revolutionary Social-Democratic workers who are still employed in the factories, the connecting of the work in the factories with that of the residential organizations have set us a large number of tasks which we are trying to carry out by new methods.

Owing to the dismissal and arrest of all workers suspected of being Marxists, our factory nucleus organizations

have been reduced to one-third of their membership as compared with January 1933. But whereas, for example, we had only twelve factory nuclei in Berlin in the month of June, in October we had 84 and in November 140. In Berlin, Leipzig, Hamburg and in the Ruhr district there are already very many factory nuclei and these are composed predominantly of former Social-Democratic workers. We have achieved good results through our work in the enterprises in the establishment of department and workshop nuclei. Since August considerable organizational progress can be observed in the work of rooting the Party in the factories. We have succeeded in at least re-establishing connections in about half the enterprises where there were formerly factory nuclei.

We have also sustained severe losses through the fact that our comrades have not always known how to observe the rules of conspiracy which have become necessary owing to the conditions of illegality. Thus, one district committee had laid down a rigid scheme for regular meetings of the comrades of the district secretariat with the leaders of the lower organizations. When the police succeeded in laying hands on one link of the scheme it was possible for them to arrest all the leading functionaries of the district at one swoop.

The Party is paying special attention to safeguarding itself against spies and provocators. The number of acts of provocation and espionage during the ten months of fascist dictatorship is comparatively small. We can only point to a few —nonetheless very serious—cases where former district functionaries put themselves at the disposal of the political police for the hunting down and identification of Communists. These persons were Werner Kraus, a former district leader of East Prussia, and a secretary named Grobis: through

their knowledge of Party members they were able o do the Party great harm. One of our peasant leaders, Comrade Ernst Putz, had to pay with his life for the villainy of these two rascals. It goes without saying that the Party attempted immediately to let its units know of all cases of provocation, and immediately to make the necessary changes in the respective parts of the organization in all cases where leading functionaries were arrested.

The police are attempting to make use of workers released from the prisons and concentration camps as provocators and spies in the Party organizations. We can say with pride that thanks to the steadfastness not only of Party members but of all anti-fascist workers in the concentration camps, these attempts of the class enemy have, with few exceptions, met with no success. Nevertheless, the Party has made it a rule that the comrades who have been released from prisons and concentration camps are not at first to be entrusted with Party work. Meanwhile one factor which constitutes a menace to the safety of our comrades is their own lack of caution. In some places comrades who committed the indiscretion of visiting their families only for a few minutes had to pay for it with their lives.

The question of new recruits for the Party, the question of forming cadres, is one of the most serious problems in view of the great rifts that have been torn in the ranks of our Party cadres. True, we have hitherto always succeeded in filling these rifts, nevertheless the lack of trained functionaries is making itself felt to an extremely serious degree. The work of training among forces which have been newly won to the Party, their education to be leading functionaries, is still very weak, although we have already organized a number of district schools. However, we may say that a large number of valuable forces have been added to the

Party from the Young Communist League and also that the women comrades whose husbands have been arrested have courageously leapt into the breach and filled the gaps in our ranks.

Without disregarding the weaknesses and errors which have been made in our Party work during the ten months of fascist dictatorship, and which in the majority of cases constitute weaknesses and errors inherited from the legal period of our work—weaknesses and errors which we are working with all our energy to overcome—the Party will so intensify its illegal work that it will be able to beat the class enemy.

3. *The General Line of the Party and the Question of Partial Demands*

The main slogans of the Party during the whole period of fascist dictatorship are laid down in the *Open Letter to Social Democratic Workers*: "Workers of Germany, unite!" "Stretch out the hand of brotherhood for bold and dauntless struggle!" "Through revolutionary unity to the overthrow of the fascist dictatorship!" "Never back to Weimar!" "Forward to the workers' and peasants' republic!"

As against this, Social-Democracy with its slogan of the struggle for democratic socialism, with its pseudo-radical slogan of so-called "educational dictatorship," is trying to hold the masses back from the revolutionary path. We, on the other hand, declare that only the mass strike, only the general strike of the workers in alliance with the toiling masses in town and country, only the armed overthrow of the bloody fascist dictatorship can lead to the liberation of the working class and of the whole toiling people from social bondage.

Our slogans for national liberation are:

"Down with the Hitler government, the government of foreign tribute, the policy of fulfilment and of Versailles enslavement!" "Down with the fascist war-mongers who want to lead the working people to the shambles of imperialist mass murder and against the Soviet Union!" "Workers of Germany, protect your proletarian fatherland! Strike against the war campaign of the imperialists in your own country and throughout the world!" "Proletarian internationalism against chauvinist incitement!" "Communism and the workers' and peasants' republic will shatter the chains of Versailles!"

The organization and leadership of the economic and political partial struggles, above all, strikes for the daily and partial interests of the workers and toiling masses, is the main link for leading on the masses to the great class battles. We warn our comrades, the Communists and members of revolutionary trade unions, against mechanical methods in the application of the slogans of the day. We help them to overcome the bad method of employing general militant strike slogans which take no account of concrete conditions.

In our instructions we have called upon them to make a conscientious study of the causes of the growing discontent among the masses, in the enterprises, at the unemployment bureaus, in the labor service camps, in the "incorporated" trade unions, in the organizations of the urban middle class and in the villages, and in the light of this to put forward concrete militant demands, to organize the struggle for them, to create the necessary organs of struggle and to place themselves everywhere at the head of the struggles in order thus to raise the mass movements to a higher level for the struggle for the overthrow of fascism and the victory of Soviet power.

In the *enterprises* and *"incorporated" trade unions* we put forward the following demands: Struggle against wage robbery in every form, against the substitution of payment by results for the wages agreement, against the maintenance and increase of wage differentiation, against the shortening of working hours without wage compensation, against compulsory contributions and against the new dismissals that are threatened. These demands have been combined with the struggle for freedom of coalition and assembly, for the free election of factory committees and mine inspectors, against compulsory participation in the demonstrations of the N.S. B.O., against the militarization of the enterprises, and the "incorporated" trade unions, against terrorism, for the right of self-determination of members, for the independent control of membership dues, for the collective refusal to pay membership dues to the fascist trade unions and for remittance of the dues to strike funds controlled by the workers. In carrying through these demands all forms of resistance and attack have been used, from opposition in the "labor front," the forcing of factory meetings and freedom of discussion, the election of negotiation commissions and passive resistance up to the weapon of strike.

We have combined the struggle for the demands of the *unemployed* with the struggle against the fascist swindle of winter relief, which only serves to penalize the factory workers and the toiling middle strata for the benefit of the employers. Here we put in the forefront the struggle against compulsory labor service, against the reduction of relief, against unpaid agricultural labor, against the so-called "transformation of the relief rates into wages." Under the slogan "For the cold and hungry!" we call out to these: "Open the food storehouses, the potato-dumps, the freight wagons, and coal-heaps!"

In order to mobilize the toiling agricultural population we put forward the following slogans of action:

"Don't pay a penny in dues, taxes or interest!" "March *en masse* to the town halls and treasury offices! Prevent all distraints by mass action!" "Fight for the seizure of the land of the big agrarians!" "Get yourselves manure and seeds from the big estates! Drive your cattle on to the pasture of the big agrarians!"

Besides this, we put forward a number of concrete slogans for the *middle classes, government employees* and *office workers*:

"Not a penny of taxes for the fascist government!" "Create your own defense against distraint by mass actions together with the workers!" "The fascist compulsory contributions are money robbed from you for the war armaments of Thyssen and Krupp! Organize collective refusal with the help of the workers!" "Refuse to pay rent and electricity costs!"

We called upon the *working youth* in the labor service camps to struggle for better food, warm clothing, vacation with pay, full scheduled wages, against military drill, for a strike until the camps are dissolved and the workers transferred from them to the factories. We called upon them to demonstrate in the working class districts, railway stations and the highways against militarization during the compulsory recruiting for labor service. We mobilized the apprentices' departments in the enterprises for a struggle against military sports and for full payment in return for consequent wear and tear of clothing and travelling expenses.

We told the *women workers* and *toiling women* that they should demonstrate in the warehouses, market halls and market places together with the small traders and handi-

craftsmen against the rising prices, against customs and price usury; that they should get clothing and shoes for their children from the big warehouses; that they should demand the release of their husbands and sons in joint demonstrations before the prisons, the torture hells of the S.A. barracks and the concentration camps.

All this is only a small section of the partial demands which we have put forward in the most varied spheres of the working class struggle and which are being supplemented at every enterprise, in the unemployment bureaus, in the labor service camps by special concrete demands directly suited to the abuses existing in each place. We do not want to give the impression that all this is already being correctly applied in practice, but nevertheless the Party leadership is straining every nerve to see to it that the Party makes it its task to raise the struggles of the workers to a higher level.

We lay the greatest emphasis on the creation of organs of struggle of the workers—organs which correspond to the maturity and the content of the movement and which are of especial significance in conditions of illegality. Here again we try to avert every kind of formal interpretation and to see to it that these organs spring directly out of the special conditions. Besides the election of independent, illegal strike committees elected by the employees, the election of shop stewards, there are also piece-work commissions, wage-rate commissions, committees from the factory sick-benefit organizations. It is above all our task to create good examples of organs of struggle for the organization of the struggles in order that through these organs we may agitate and inspire the workers. We are concentrating our work in the enterprises, above all on the large enterprises. A specially difficult task for us is the creation of organs of struggle among the unemployed. In this sphere we are still a long way be-

hind and lay main emphasis on really organized work among the unemployed.

4. *The Creation of Independent Class Unions*

Although the Party has already recognized that the creation of class trade unions independent of fascism is an indispensable prerequisite for the carrying out of its revolutionary task, we are nevertheless still very much behind in this respect. The main reason for this is that our trade union mass work already exhibited great weaknesses during the period of legality and that there was also some uncertainty in our slogans after the "incorporation" of the trade unions by the fascists. A number of comrades upheld the slogan "Save the trade unions!" and held that the members should remain in the unions. This mistake encouraged the appearance of liquidationist tendencies in the Red Trade Union Organization and in the Red Federations and weakened their power to attract members. With the help of our leading comrades in the Comintern we succeeded in eliminating this mistake, but this also occasioned us a certain loss of tempo. We are now trying by means of the strike movements, and by intensifying our trade union mass work, to create the necessary conditions for the founding of independent class unions. In a resolution of the C.C. of our Party on the trade union question in August 1933 the Party was set the necessary tasks in this field and the German Communist fraction in the Red Trade Union Organization was entrusted with the task of drawing up a political and organizational plan for the rapid building up of independent class unions.

Our struggle in the "incorporated" trade unions, in the "German labor front," and in the N.S.B.O., the fascist police and spy organization, is being continued and must

lead to the best working class elements of these organizations being enlisted for the building up of independent class unions. Our Party resolutely opposed the attempts of some "Left" Social-Democrats, who with the support of the Amsterdam trade union bureaucrats put in opposition to our movement for the formation of independent class unions the idea of founding so-called "independent trade unions" with Social-Democratic leadership, whose only object, fundamentally, was to maintain the split in the ranks of the working class. The most important task which we set ourselves is to attract the broad masses of Social-Democratic workers and former members and functionaries of the German General Trade Union Confederation to the work of building up real independent class unions.

5. *The Struggle for the Youth*

We regard it as a salient task in the struggle against fascist dictatorship to snatch the working youth from fascism and to lead them into our camp. The influence of fascist demagogy over the toiling masses of the youth, intensified as it is by the education they receive in the schools of fascist Germany, confronts us with especial difficulties. Thanks to the work of our young German revolutionary workers we can already point to important initial successes. In the labor service camps during the last few weeks alone there have been hundreds of cases of refusal to obey orders up to the point of strike. In a number of places we have succeeded in winning over whole groups of Social-Democratic youth for the Young Communist League. It was found possible to send an elected delegation of twenty-four youth delegates of all shades of opinion to the Paris World Congress. But we must realize that these successes are to a large extent nothing more than a result of young comrades acting on their own

initiative. The weakness of systematic organization of work in the Young Communist League, its deficient connection with the places where struggles are being waged, the lack of systematic work in the mass youth organizations of the fascists, the appearance of opportunist tendencies in the winning over of the Social-Democratic Youth League (S.A.J.) by means of unprincipled formation of committees together with the leadership of the S.A.J. in certain districts, the re-establishment of Social-Democratic youth groups by us—all this shows the great weaknesses in the work of the Young Communist League and confronts the Party and the League with the important task of quickly overcoming these defects. The Party is all the more faced with the task of giving the League stronger political leadership in its mass work and rendering it comradely assistance. The anti-Party factional activity of the Neumann-Mueller group, which held leading positions in the Young Communist League both in the center and in the various districts up till just before the setting up of the Hitler dictatorship, hampered the League in developing a revolutionary mass policy.

6. *Forms and Methods of Our Agitation and Our Illegal Press*

In view of the weaknesses of our cadres as a consequence of the terror, in view of the difficulty of giving oral and written information to the Party and through the Party to the masses, the illegal press of our Party and mass organizations acquires an extraordinary significance. Our central press above all, as an instrument for the practical leadership of the Party, must provide a clear perspective of the further course of development and not only tell the masses what is happening but also organize the struggles of the working

class and create a broad organization of sympathizers around the Party. It must be our task to see that the press appears regularly, above all the central organ of our press, the *Rote Fahne*. During the first five months of the fascist dictatorship the lower units of the Party and the district committees published over a thousand local and district papers with a circulation of over two million copies. Even though the contents of these papers may still not satisfy us, even though an especially great weakness is apparent in the attitude of the press to work in the enterprises, to the formulation of the local interests of the workers and their slogans, even though this press publishes only a small proportion of workers' correspondence, nevertheless it stands closer to the masses today than ever before and it is a press in which a real workers' language is spoken.

In the popularization of our slogans against fascist dictatorship, one factor of tremendous importance is the surprisingly great initiative which finds expression in the application and invention of new forms and methods by the lower Party units. We have examples which show how extraordinarily great agitational achievements are being accomplished with revolutionary initiative, with revolutionary audacity. We will give only one of these examples. In the neighborhood of a fairly large town in South Germany an electric cable passes over a mountain stream fifty meters wide. Our comrades, by means of very clever technical methods, fixed a huge strip of bunting to this cable with our revolutionary slogans on it. The authorities did not succeed in removing this sign because the current could not be switched off. After three days, in the course of these attempts the cable was finally broken and all electric railway traffic was brought to a standstill as a result of the consequent short circuit. The whole district was speaking about this bold

achievement of our agitators, which won many workers for us.

Our comrades show the same initiative in the preparation of our agitational material, and in this they are always thinking out new methods. At the beginning of the working day the workers find Communist leaflets on their workbenches and not even the most vigilent supervision can determine who has put them there. Our leaflets come flying through the open windows of workers' houses, they are to be found in the baskets of traders coming to the market, our slogans may be seen on the pictures in cigarette boxes. For some time leaflets were thrown down from the department stores in the large towns and, though the investigation divisions were immediately set to work, it was found impossible to discover who was responsible. Workers on one occasion fixed a so-called seesaw on a department store building with a package of leaflets on one end of the board, and on the other end a pail of water with a hole bored in it; the water slowly ran out, so that after a time the leaflets were automatically thrown down through the force of gravity. These of course are only minor methods of agitation, but they attract the attention of the workers and show them that the Communists are busy.

But though the achievements of our lower Party units in the production and distribution of illegal material and the putting forward of revolutionary slogans are worthy of all admiration, yet we must see to it that our illegal material, for which the workers are so eager, really gets to the people for whom it is intended. Here, above all, we see shortcomings and weaknesses in our agitation in the enterprises. Only the smallest part of our illegal newspapers are newspapers of the factory nuclei, and moreover the enterprises, occupy only a small space in our district and central press.

It is precisely this initiative from below, the independent and correct action of lower Party units, which shows the great progress that the Party has made in its cadres. Only just now have we been able to observe this once again in connection with the treacherous "referendum" of the fascists, when our comrades in the various districts drew up and distributed their slogans in perfect unanimity with the Party leadership, even though the directives of the Party did not reach them. We could say the same in regard to the campaigns which have been undertaken by the district committees on their own initiative. Especially in the enterprises our comrades make very clever use in their agitation of the unrest among the workers against the measures taken by the employers, whether by the collection of signatures, by forcing a vote or by speaking at the factory and trade union meetings, in order to strengthen the workers' will to resistance.

VI. The Outlook in Germany—Armed Overthrow of the Fascist Dictatorship

When it took over power, the Hitler dictatorship declared that it wanted to stamp out the class struggle of the German proletariat, describing it as an "invention of the Communist agitators." But its policy of plundering the people and letting loose a reign of terror has only made the class fronts stand out all the more sharply. It has declared civil war against the proletariat and thus corroborated the teaching of Marxism that the dissolution of classes and class contradictions can only be reached by the overthrow of all hitherto existing social "order," by the victory of communism.

The armed overthrow of the bloody fascist dictatorship is the slogan which the revolutionary Party of the proletariat puts before the masses. While the Party is becoming the only true rallying point of all opposition on the part of the oppressed classes against the fascist regime, it puts forward as its central slogan the question of the seizure of power, the struggle for the setting up of Soviet power. Our whole mass work, including the work of the lowest units of the Party, of our fractions in the mass organizations, must be guided by this perspective. The Party must take as its starting point the bold recognition of the fact that the victory of communism is inevitable. And it must also fill the toiling masses with this confidence in victory.

A few weeks' time will see the fifteenth anniversary of the founding of the Communist Party of Germany, which our unforgettable comrades, the murdered Karl Liebknecht

and Rosa Luxemburg, created in the reek of powder of the November revolution, betrayed by the Social-Democrats; they created it in order to put a weapon in the hands of the German proletariat with which it will tear power from its enemies, with which it will set up its dictatorship.

The Communist Program of Salvation

As the only Party which has a program of salvation from poverty, distress, hunger and unemployment, we say to the toiling people of Germany:

Only the shattering of the fascist dictatorship can liberate you from distress, from bondage. The shattering of the fascist dictatorship can only be the work of the revolution of the working class in alliance with all the oppressed and exploited. Only the power of the working class saves you from the catastrophe into which the National-Socialists are plunging the German people and which was prepared by Social-Democracy in the Weimar Republic.

Forward to the dictatorship of the proletariat, for the power of the workers' and peasants' soviets, to the overthrow of capitalism, forward to socialism!

That is the path along which the proletariat of ex-tsarist Russia has gone, in alliance with the toilers and the exploited peasants, under the leadership of the Bolshevik Party of Lenin. This path has led to socialism, to the national liberation of hundreds of nations, to the economic and political independence of the mighty Soviet state in the struggle against international imperialism.

This social and national liberation was fought for and won under the banner of proletarian internationalism in the struggle against national barbarism, against bloody race hatred.

The Communist Party of Germany has called upon you to follow it on this path, on the path of struggle for your own interests, for the future of the youth and children. Social-Democracy has kept you back from pursuing this path.

After the overthrow of fascist dictatorship, of the domination of the capitalists, we Communists will set up the power of the workers' and peasants' soviets, the power of the overwhelming majority of the German people over an insignificant minority of parasites.

In the soviets, freely elected by all workers, toiling peasants, employees, by all toilers in town and country, we Communists will call for your support to carry out without delay the following basic measures for safeguarding the power of the working class in the interests of the liberty and well being of all the exploited and oppressed:

1. We will immediately expropriate without compensation all banks, large enterprises, railways, department stores of the big capitalists and convert them into socialist property.

2. We will expropriate without compensation all the landed estates of the landlords, of the churches and monasteries, of the Hohenzollerns and the princes as well as every other kind of big landed property and together with all the implements and property attached to them distribute them gratis among the peasants and agricultural laborers.

3. We will annul all the debts which the workers, peasants and petty bourgeoisie owe to the banks, big capitalists and landlords, and abolish all existing taxes together with the Weimar Republic and the Hitler government.

4. We will attract all toilers to take part in the government of the state on the basis of proletarian democracy through the medium of the soviets, and also to exercise im-

mediate control over the banks, industry, railways and large agricultural enterprises.

5. We will expropriate all the houses, residences and villas of the rich, forcibly remove the idlers from them and give their dwellings, together with furniture and everything pertaining to them, to the unemployed and to those toilers who are housed in bad conditions (workers, employees, handicraftsmen, etc).

6. We will expropriate all supplies of food and immediate necessaries of life which are in the hands of the state and the big capitalists and place them at the disposal of the unemployed and all indigent persons, the distribution of these articles being handed over to the unemployed committees.

7. We will guarantee to all toilers full freedom of organization, of assembly and of the press, we will place at their disposal the large halls, the printing presses and all supplies of paper.

8. We will conclude a fraternal alliance with the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics, arm all the toilers and create a mighty revolutionary Red Army. In alliance with the toilers of the U.S.S.R., Poland, France, Czechoslovakia and England we will organize resistance against all attempts of finance capital and the Junker landlords to restore their power.

9. By taking over all the means of production, the proletarian power will create the prerequisites for an unprecedented economic upswing of the country in the interests of the toiling masses themselves; it will create new prerequisites for the development of foreign trade, above all with the U.S.S.R., and assure work for all unemployed.

10. In possession of the revolutionary state power, freed from the yoke of their own capitalists, the toiling people

of Soviet Germany will declare the dictated peace of Versailles to be null and void. In alliance with the international proletariat and the mighty Union of Socialist Soviet Republics, the victorious German proletarian revolution will do away with the reparations, all treaties concluded by force which have deprived Germany of equal rights.

The Power of the Soviets, of the overwhelming majority of the people, abolishes the exploitation of man by man, does away with national oppression and creates socialism.

Weimar democracy promised you democratic socialism. The fascists have proclaimed national socialism to you. Both declared: capitalism has outlived its day. Both have taken over the governing power. But both have exercised power in the interests of the class of capitalist exploiters, to protect the dying capitalist system. There is no democratic socialism. There is no national socialism. Capitalism rules in Germany.

There is only one socialism, proletarian socialism brought about through proletarian dictatorship, through the Soviet power in the Socialist Soviet Union. The great Soviet democracy has unleashed the creative power of millions of downtrodden and oppressed. It has given work to all. It has given freedom to all women. It has opened up a broad future before the entire youth. It has built up a socialist economy which has no crises to fear. It is doing away with classes, it is leading to a classless society, to communism, to well being for all.

This is the path which the Communist Party of Germany points out to you.

The hour of requital for all the crimes of the German bourgeoisie is drawing near.

Rise, workers, rise, deceived German people, against the bloody fascist rule of capital.

Forward to the struggle for the overthrow of fascist dictatorship!

For the power of the workers' and peasants' soviets!

For Soviet Germany!

For the abolition of the Versailles robber peace treaty!

For Socialism!

Long live the Communist Party of Germany and its imprisoned leader, Comrade Thaelmann!

Long live the vanguard of the world proletariat, the Communist Party of the Soviet Union with its Bolshevik Central Committee under the leadership of Comrade Stalin!

Long live the Communist International!

Long live the World October!